THE HINDOO PATRIOT

With which is incorporated the Indian Field.

PUBLISHED EVERY MONDAY.

Vol. XXX. No. 16 — CALCUTTA:—MONDAY, APRIL 16, 1883. — *Per Annum in Advance.* TOWN.....11-8 MOFUSSIL.....13-4

THE WEEK.

MONDAY, 9TH APRIL.

COL J. G. MEDLEY, R. E., who presided at the last prize distribution at Roorkee, thus described the results of the Roorkee College:

Since its establishment in 1848 more than 1,200 native students have been trained within its walls, while the wants of the country generally in men so trained are only met by a steady outturn of some 30 men annually. And it is rare to find a passed Roorkee student out of employment. That, I think, is a practical proof that the men as a rule do their work fairly well. I do not say that they are altogether satisfactory. The artizan classes of the population whom the College would prefer to see in its lower classes, are but scantily represented; they have as yet scarcely begun to appreciate the advantages of a technical training in the principles of their own calling or of combining a knowledge of theory with skilful practice, although a beginning has at least been made. Meanwhile the young men who crowd the College classes of the lower subordinate class receive here careful instruction in such practical subjects as surveying, drawing, and estimating, and many of them add to this subsequently a good knowledge of executive work derived from actual experience.

But the *alumni* of the Roorkee College have fallen into discount since the establishment of the Cooper's Hill College. The white man is pushing aside the black man!

WE ARE SORRY to learn from the *Pioneer* that the nature of Mr. Whitley Stokes' illness is some affection of the brain of a more or less hopeless character. Were his last performances in India the products of a diseased brain?

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, Agent to the Governor-General in Central India left Indore on Tuesday for Bombay *en route* to England. All the Central Indian Chiefs, with the exception of the Maharaja Holkar and his sons, assembled at the station to bid him farewell. The absence of the Maharaja Holkar and his sons was significant.

THE BHUDDHISTS and the Roman Catholics of Colombo, we are sorry to note, have had a row. The Buddhists gave some offence to the Roman Catholics and the latter assembled in large numbers to stop a Buddhist procession, reported to be carrying a cross on which a monkey was suspended, when an encounter ensued, and the soldiers had to be called out to assist the police in quelling the disturbance. One of the rioters was killed and some fifteen were injured.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN has published a letter in explanation of his order prohibiting "the Salvationists from entering Native States in Central India." Sir Lepel thinks that "the Salvationists should be treated as inconvenient political offenders, and deported from India." What dire political offence have the poor Salvationists committed?

HYDERABAD is to be furnished with a water-supply as a memorial of the late Sir Salar Jung.

ONE hundred and ninety-nine elephants have been captured this season in the Garo Hills by the Dhaka Khedda establishment under Mr. Sanderson, in seven weeks.

TUESDAY, 10TH APRIL.

THE REDUCTIONS in the rates charged for the carriage of grain and seeds over the Rajputana and B. B. and C. I. Railways from Agra and Delhi to Bombay is announced to take effect from the 1st May. As already stated, the new tariff will be 11 annas per maund for wheat and 11 annas 6 pies per maund for other grain and common seeds.

THE INDIAN DAILY NEWS thus comments on the political tendency of the Bengal Rent Bill: "The meeting of the British Indian Association followed up as it has been by the meeting of the Behar zemindars at Arrah, shows that in Bengal Lord Ripon is setting class against class amongst the natives, and that he is calling into existence a fierce and dangerous opposition of interests between the rent-payer and the rent-receiver. The ryot and the zemindar are arrayed against each other. Nor is this all; if the landlords by means of their Associations oppose the Land Laws of Lord Ripon, we are likely to see those laws in some way supported by rival associations which appear to desire to take the ryot for their stalking-horse. In this way there will be an embittered division in the native community." We confess we deeply regret the political tendency of the Rent Bill. It will cause a fearful chasm between the landlords and tenantry of Bengal. Perhaps the Government has no idea of the mischief the seeds of which it is sowing.

IT IS stated that the Duke of Albany will be sent to Canada in succession to the Marquis of Lorne. It is also rumoured that the Marquis of Lorne may succeed the Earl of Ripon in the Viceroyalty of India. We are glad to see that the resignation of Lord Ripon has proved a *canard*.

THE VISIT of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to Berlin has been a conspicuous success from several points of view. He has been made a Field Marshal, and this has afforded much pleasure in Court and other circles. We believe no other Englishman since the Duke of Wellington has had the same honour conferred upon him.

THE WORLD of scandal seems to be busy enough. It is not long since Gambetta died, leaving a good deal of mystery hanging over his last days in consequence of the presence of a mistress. Now, some curious stories are afloat about the death of Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian statesman. It appears that at the Berlin Congress he took a fancy to a lady, who was moving in certain circles at Berlin at the time when Lord Beaconsfield was negotiating for "peace with honour." Prince Gortschakoff became acquainted with this lady, and purchased a fine house for her at Baden. He made a settlement in her favour, and having died somewhat suddenly at the villa of the mistress the matter has given rise to much gossip, and there are rumours of poisoning!

IT IS stated that the Gaekwar of Baroda proposes to revise the salaries of the high officials of his State. The Dewan will hereafter receive Rs. 3,000, instead of Rs. 5,000 as hitherto, the Revenue Commissioner Rs. 1,500 instead of Rs. 2,000, and the first class *Soobo* Rs. 1,000 instead of Rs. 1,200. The Gaekwar is a Prince, who looks into things with his own eyes.

THE LAST season reports of the Bombay Presidency state that locusts still continue their depredations in the Belgaum, Rutnagberry, and Satara districts, and that they are very troublesome to cattle.

WEDNESDAY, 11TH APRIL.

THE INDIAN WITNESS has the following: "The Governor of Bombay has issued an order in which he attempts to distinguish between Hindoo and Mahomedan processions, and those which are "aggressive." The former are to be tolerated and the latter disallowed. The practical meaning of this is that Christian processions are not to be allowed the same privileges as those of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, for according to Sir James Ferguson's notions any Christian procession would be considered aggressive." We for one do not see the necessity or expediency of this invidious distinction. The Hindus do not wish that any restriction should be imposed on the liberty of conscience of any class of Her Majesty's subjects.

AT A MEETING of the Anglo-Indian Evangelical Society, presided over by Mr. Mackenzie, the Home Secretary, one of the speakers said: "Our ungodly countrymen in India do much to harm and hinder the missionary work. Thank God, it is not so bad as it was twenty and fifty years ago. Still European immorality is too common, and a serious drawback to our work. The names of wicked men, civilians, doctors, planters and others, are frequently flung in our faces when we preach in the bazars. Why is it, Sir, that the natives may forget many a good man, but never a bad man? Even the memory bears the taint of sin! I've known bazar audiences broken up by jeers that rose at the mention of a drunken or licentious European's name." We commend this text to the Anglo-Indian Defence Association.

PRINCE RISMARCK is said to be negotiating for ten million acres of land in Mexico to be colonized by Germans.

LAST week's mail brought news of the death of two Peninsular veterans. Captain Ward, aged 93, was a midshipman on board the *Victory* at Trafalgar, and General George Macdonald, aged 99 who fought at Waterloo.

BY THE PRESENT law of England a marriage is legal only if solemnized between 8 in the morning and noon. A bill has been introduced in Parliament to extend the time till 6 P. M.

M. DE LESSEPS has left Tunis with a distinguished party of engineers to examine the desert-country in connection with the scheme to excavate an inland sea in North Africa. The level of the Great March Lakes is fourteen metres below the Mediterranean.

WHEN MR. BIGGAR, the Irish agitator, took refuge in France in the autumn of 1881, he beguiled the weary weeks of his exile by paying his addresses to a Miss Hyland, an Irish lady thirty-five years of age, who was residing in Paris with her mother. The lady has now sued him in London for breach of promise of marriage, and recovered four hundred pounds.

MR. JAIRAZBHAI PEERBHAI, a Muhammadan merchant of Bombay, has placed Rs. 30,000 in the hands of trustees "to maintain Khoja Muhammadans who from physical infirmity or other causes are unable to maintain themselves, to educate the children of parents who are too poor to pay the school fees themselves, to educate and maintain orphans, and to assist Khoja Muhammadan students of the Bombay University."

THE PROJECT to introduce trained medical women into Bombay is fairly established. Upwards of Rs. 40,000 has been subscribed, and nearly Rs. 27,000 is already paid into the Bank. The scheme includes four distinct objects:—(1) the bringing out of women doctors from England, (2) the establishment of a dispensary for the poor, (3) medical education for female students through the Grant Medical College, and (4) the provision of a hospital for women and children. A Parsee has offered a lakh of rupees to build a hospital for women and children.

THE PIONEER is not satisfied with the constitution of the Committee of the new Anglo-Indian Defence Association. Our contemporary says:

Already, we regret to see, there seems an inclination to make the Association a local body rather than a really representative organization for all India. The gentlemen chosen as office-bearers, for instance, belong almost exclusively to Calcutta; and yet, surely, men of influence are to be found in the mofussil who would have been only too glad to have joined the permanent Council which is to control the working of the Association? Every Presidency and every Province should be represented on the Council, and then the new organization would be equal to dealing vigorously with the various economic and political questions which may arise from time to time, and which it has undertaken to watch.

But are there substantial Anglo-Indian grievances, which require ventilation? Let the storm about Mr. Ilbert's Bill pass away, and we will then see whether there will be much work left for the Association.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA has passed the following Rules on the subject of the submission by public bodies of addresses to the Governor General in Council;

I.—An address, the sole or principal object of which is to promote or oppose a measure of Imperial legislation, or one which bears immediately upon general questions of Imperial policy, may be submitted direct to the Governor-General in Council.

II.—When the object of an address is to induce the Governor-General to give his assent to, or to withhold his assent from, a law passed by a Provincial Legislature, it should be transmitted through the Local Government concerned.

III—An address intended to obtain the reversal of an executive act, or one which bears directly upon the executive action of a Local Government, should be transmitted through the Local Government in respect of whose action complaint is made. This procedure should be followed in all cases in which the jurisdiction to be exercised by the Government of India is of an appellate character or necessarily involves a reference to the Local Government.

IV.—In the case of an address relating to a law passed by a Provincial Legislature, it will be convenient that a copy of the address should simultaneously be sent to the Governor-General. In other cases it will be at the option of the writers to send direct to the Government of India duplicates of representations submitted to the Local Government.

THURSDAY, 12TH APRIL.

REFERRING to the controversy on the Jurisdiction Bill and the letter of Sir J. Stephen and Mr. Branson's speech anent the same, a correspondent puts us in mind of what these gentlemen said on former occasions. Sir J F. Stephen thus delivered himself on the Native Marriage Bill in January 1872. He said:

"I think that one distinct act of wilful injustice, one clear instance of unfaithfulness to the principles on which our Government of India depends, one positive proof that we either cannot or will not do justice or what we regard as such, to all classes, races, creeds, or no creeds to be found in British India, would in the long run shake our power more deeply than even military or financial disaster."

The same speaker in conclusion emphatically observed :

"I believe that the real foundation of our power will be found to be an inflexible adherence to broad principles of justice, common to all persons in all communities and in all ages and enforced with unflinching firmness in favor of or against every one who claims their benefit or who presumes to violate them, no matter who he may be."

Mr. Branson in addressing the meeting in honour of Sir Ashley Eden on the 22nd April last year said :

"But in addition to this quality and tending in the direction there had been another quality, which he felt certain had been recognised widely. It was a quality which in a ruler in this country was essential, and it was the absence of race prejudice. And he took it that this absence of race prejudice was a great credit to a ruler."

He further remarked :

"They could only speak of a man's prejudices or otherwise from the way in which he showed them, and perhaps the chief honor was due to him, who though bristling with prejudices did not allow himself to be influenced by them."

Our correspondent justly asks—"How are we to reconcile these sentiments with the attitude the same speakers have assumed on the present occasion ?"

A CORRESPONDENT informs us that the separate funds of the Hindu and Hare Schools have been amalgamated into a joint fund for the defrayal of the common expenses of both.

REFERRING to the charge contained in the letter of Sir Louis Jackson to the *Times* that "in general Native Judges in India proceed in the formation of their judgment a good deal less on the actual tangible evidence before them than upon their estimate on the probabilities of the case," a correspondent invites notice to a judgment of the Lords of the Privy Council, Raja Chundra Nath Roy, vol. XI., B. L. R., P. 103, in which their Lordships made the following remarks on a judgment of Sir Louis Jackson when a Judge of the High Court, Calcutta. Their Lordships observed :

"But this case has arrived at its present stage and the litigation has been prolonged, not so much by the result which ought to have been drawn from the evidence given on both sides directly applicable to three parts, as from this, that the learned Judge Mr. Jackson *drew from circumstances not given in the evidence in the case, and from general knowledge inferences and presumptions hostile to the direct evidence.*"

WE HAVE received the first number of a new English Journal started in Allahabad in imitation of the Bombay *Voice of India*. It is called "*The Native Press.*" We wish it success.

A PURNEA CORRESPONDENT informs us that the station has been without its chief executive officer for the last seven days preceding 2nd April. The Magistrate it is said has gone to Dacca without leave. Is this true ?

FRIDAY, 13TH APRIL.

A CORRESPONDENT suggests that the members of Local Boards and Municipal Committees would prefer to be exempt from the restrictions of the Arms Act to being dubbed "Rai Bahadur." Not a bad idea.

A KASHMIR CORRESPONDENT sends the following contribution to the literature of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill : "Europeans in the interior of the country do not feel any scruple or hesitation to place their lives under the treatment of Native Assistant Surgeons. I fail to understand why they object to half-a-dozen England-returned Native Civilians being vested with the power of trying them for criminal offences."

WE LEARN from a correspondent at Nabigunge in Sylhet that cholera is raging fearfully in that subdivision. There has been very little rain up to date and spring crops are suffering in consequence. The cultivation for the *amun* is nearly at a stand-still. The district of Sylhet will not be split up into two divisions as proposed—the proposal has been rejected by the Secretary of State.

REFERRING to the observation in Sir Louis Jackson's letter that in Turkey, Egypt, Japan, and China special tribunals are provided for the trial of Europeans a correspondent remarks that the writer has kept back one important fact. Those countries have laws of their own to which Europeans might not unreasonably object to, whereas in British India the laws are English or modelled on the basis of English law by Englishmen, to which all classes of Her Majesty's subjects are equally liable.

WE HAVE received a memorial in Bengali purporting to come from the ryots of Nallia comprised within the Police station of Gohagarru in the sub-division of Narrail in the district of Jessore, in which they complain of alleged oppressions practised upon them by the manager of Mr. Robert Savi the present zemindar. As the paper is not authenticated we refrain from giving the details. We have no means of knowing how far the allegations are correct.

SATURDAY, 14TH APRIL.

THERE WERE 294 deaths in Calcutta during the week ending 7th April, of which 92 were from cholera, 9 from small-pox, 71 from fevers, 22 from bowel-complaints, 2 from accidents, 13 from spleen diseases, 27 from tetanus and the rest from other causes. Infant mortality 59, 9 children were still-born. Among non-Asiatics and mixed races the deaths were 14. The average of daily mortality was 42. We are sorry to note that the rate of cholera mortality is rising.

WE LEARN from a Kashmir correspondent that Colonel Oliver St. John, the Political officer on special duty, arrived at Srinugur on the 2nd instant. He was cordially received by the Governor and 13 guns were fired in his honor. The royal artillery and a regiment of infantry had been posted at Munshibag to welcome him and do him the necessary honors.

WE ARE glad to observe that Mr. Roghunath Narayen Khote, Sheriff of Bombay, has been elected Chairman of the Bombay Municipal Corporation for the next year.

WE LEARN from the Press Commissioner's Office that Sir J. Gordon, Resident in Mysore, takes six months special leave from first June next. Mr. J. B. Lyall, Financial Commissioner, Punjab, acts for him.

THE ENGLISHMAN has received the following telegram from Bombay :

Bombay, April 13.—Mrs. Tucker and ten other Salvationists appeared before Mr. Cooper yesterday in answer to a charge of causing an unlawful assemblage, but were liberated on their own recognisance of fifty Rupees each until Monday, in consequence of the public prosecutor being unable to attend. Major Tucker, on behalf of the prisoners promised that in the meantime the offence would not be repeated.

WE HAVE received the following from the Press Commissioner's Office :

In paragraph 101 of the Financial statement the comparative figures were given showing the consumption of salt throughout India (except Burma) for the eleven months from March 1st to January 31st of the years 1881-82, 1882 83. They were as follows :—

1881-82...	...	... Mds. 24,498,000
1882-83...	...	... ,, 26,101,000
Increase	...	... 1,603,000

The detailed figures for February have now been received, thus enabling a comparison to be made for a full period of one year since the reduction of the duty. They are as follows :—

1881-82 ..	...	... Mds. 26,832,000
1882-83...	...	... ,, 28,679,000
Increase	...	... 1,847,000

THE ENGLISHMAN is setting a bad example to the Native Press. Ostensibly it says that it does not like personalities in political warfare, and yet it parades some choice tit bits by way of illustration of the old English style of political controversy. We give the epitaph on Lord Thurlow :

Here lies, beneath the prostituted mace,
A patriot with but one base wish—peace:
Here lies beneath the prostituted purse,
A peer, with but one talent—how to curse:
Here lies, beneath the prostituted gown,
The guardian of all honour—but his own;
Statesman, with but one rule his steps to guide—
To shun the sinking, take the rising side;
Judge, with but one base law—to serve the time,
And see in wealth no weakness, power no crime,
Christian, with but one value for the name,
The scoffer's prouder privilege—to blaspheme;
Briton, with but one hope—to live a slave,
And dig in deathless infamy his grave."

Surely our contemporary does not wish that the Native Press should imitate this spirit.

WE TAKE from the morning papers the following telegrams of the week :

London, April 8.—Two arrests of Dynamiters were made at Glasgow yesterday. It is believed that the Dynamite conspirators now under arrest intended to perpetrate a series of widespread explosions throughout London. The Liverpool prisoners discovered landing explosives there from Cork, have been committed for trial. It is announced that Mr. Parnell has given up his intended visit to America.

10.—The Houses of Lords and Commons finally passed the Dynamite Bill after a single sitting. The Bill is to the effect that any persons who could be proved to have actually used explosives for criminal purposes will be sentenced to penal servitude for life, and that the abettors of the crime and manufacturers of the explosives will be sentenced to twenty years' penal servitude. Mr. Cross, replying to a question in the House of Commons, said the Indian Government would be directed to submit a report of the concessions granted during the minority of the Maharaja of Mysore and the connexion of Indian officials therewith. A special enquiry on the subject has been refused here.

11.—Mr. Gladstone, replying to a question in the House of Commons last night, with reference to a statement that has appeared in the London papers that Lord Ripon intended resigning at the end of the year, said that neither he nor Lord Kimberley had heard anything from the Viceroy respecting any such intention. It is expected that Norman, one of the prisoners remanded last Friday at Bow Street, until to-morrow, will turn informer. The garrison in London is to be reinforced by a line regiment.

12.—Mr. Stanhope gave notice in the House of Commons last night that he would bring forward on the 8th May a motion that it will be necessary to take steps shortly to decrease public expenditure. In the trial of the Phœnix Park murderers now proceeding at Dublin, James Carey and Farrel repeated their evidence previously given. The Counsel for the Crown promised to bring forward independent corroborative evidence.

13.—Advices have been received that the French troops have expelled the Annamites from Namdinh and Loonkay, and that the French Minister has quitted Hue.

Constantinople, April 12.—In consequence of England and Russia opposing the candidacy of the Miridite Prince Bidoda to the Governorship of Lebanon, the Porte has withdrawn his name for the post.

Rome, April 11.—The Italian Minister for foreign affairs, speaking in the Senate to-day said that the understanding between Italy, Austria and Germany implied no hostility towards France. He said he hoped a satisfactory settlement would be arrived at in connexion with the Tunisian question but that Italy could not allow the creation of a great Empire in North Africa.

Vienna April 10—It is understood that the Emperor of Austria will shortly visit the King of Italy, who, it is said, will go later on to Berlin.

WE HAVE to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the under-mentioned publications and periodicals : 1. Reprint of letter from the *Hindu* about Mr. Macleane and Salem. 2. Vice-Chancellor's address at the convocation of the University Calcutta on the 10th March 1883. 3. Kali-Yuga or an enquiry into the spirit of the Iron Age. By Judoo Nath Dey. 4. Bunga Dursun, a Bengali monthly No. 100. 5. Arya Dursun Do. Vol. VIII. Nos. 3 and 4. 6. Voice of India, April, 1883.

INDIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE CULTIVATION OF SCIENCE.

(210, Bow-Bazar Street.)

(SESSION 1883.)

LECTURE by Dr. Mahendra Lal Sircar, on Tuesday, the 17th instant, at 7½ P. M.

Subject : Laws of Magnetic Action, Terrestrial Magnetism.

PRACTICAL CLASS in Chemistry under Babu Tara Prasanna Roy, F.C.S., F.I.C., on Wednesday, the 18th instant at 5 P. M.

LECTURE by the Very Rev. Father Lafont, S. J., C. I. E., on Thursday, the 19th instant at 7½ P. M.

Subject : The Various Kinds of Pumps.

Lecture by Babu Tara Prasanna Roy, F.C.S., F.I.C., on Saturday, the 21st instant at 3 P. M.

Subject : Chlorine.

The Hindoo Patriot.

MONDAY, APRIL 16, 1883.

LORD RIPON'S ARRAIGNMENT.

AN impartial observer, who steers clear of the whirlpool of party politics of England, will be not a little surprised to see the grossly inconsistent attitude of public opinion regarding Lord Ripon. On the one hand the whole non-official European community, secretly sympathized with by not a few officials, are arraigned against Lord Ripon. They are supported by retired Anglo-Indians in England and also by leaders of the Conservative party, who naturally make the indictment of Lord Ripon a party cry. These would, indeed, be very glad if they could by their party manœvres drive Lord Ripon to despair and resignation. On the other hand the Native Indians from one end of the country to the other sing *io pœans* in praise of Lord Ripon, admire his just and generous policy, and pray for the prolongation of his administration beyond the usual term. Surely the opinion of the millions, who are directly affected by his Lordship's rule, ought to carry weight. It is needless for us to say that we do not attach much importance to the arraignment of Lord Ripon in the House of Lords. It was a party move, and what Lord Lytton said was simply a party outcry. Reuter has thus telegraphed the Lords' debate :

Lord Lytton in the House of Lords, last night, called attention to the recent action of the Indian Government in connection with Local Self-Government and Criminal Procedure, and especially referred to the effects of these measures upon the relations between Natives and Europeans. His Lordship urged that the policy of the Indian Government tended to destroy the fundamental principles of British rule. Lord Kimberley disclaimed any intention of introducing any Parliamentary institutions into India, but cited the opinions of Lords Lawrence, Canning, and Mayo in favor of the extention of Native administration. His Lordship said that Lord Ripon intended no change in the present system, but to build on the lines laid down by his predecessors, in which policy he will be cordially supported by the British Govern-

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ment. Lord Northbrook warmly defended the Indian Government. He said the scope of the measures had been misapprehended, and that they provided ample safeguards against abuses. Lord Salisbury denounced the Self-Government and Procedure Bills as acts of political hypocrisy which deceived nobody.

After Lord Salisbury's remarks in the debate on the Indian Government's policy in the House of Lords last evening, the subject was dropped.

So the debate in the Lords proved quite unfructuous, and it was destined to be so. Those who attack Lord Ripon's policy seem to think that his Lordship is changing the fundamental principles of British rule in British India. But what facts have they in proof of this assertion? Take the leading measures of Lord Ripon's Government. His Lordship has remitted the import duties, and in doing so he has simply carried out what was forced upon him by the tortuous policy of the Conservative Government. But by the remission of the import duties he has benefited England more than India. The same remarks apply to a certain extent to the reduction of the salt duty. Of course the people of India benefit by the lowering of this duty, but the salt merchants of Cheshire also share this benefit. The encouragement of private enterprize is of course for the benefit of the children of the soil, but as matters go the European manufacturers and capitalists will necessarily derive greater benefit than their native *confreres*, simply because there is more enterprise among the former than among the latter. For instance the abolition of the jail manufactures will materially benefit certain European capitalists connected with the *Pioneer* Press. We do not mean that the policy of the Government has been designed to benefit Europeans more than the natives, but it cannot control its practical tendency. Then the Government has fought nobly the cause of the Indian tax-payers against the attempt made to saddle the Indian exchequer with the cost of the Egyptian war, but all classes of tax-payers are equally affected by the righteous principles advocated by the Government of India, and not the Europeans less than the natives. Lord Ripon's Government has certainly taken a step in advance for the extension of the principle of self-government, but it is no new principle. It is a legitimate developement of the decentralization policy of Lord Mayo. And after all what is the extent of power, which this scheme of local self-Government concedes to the people? It proposes to give them power to look after village roads, village drains, village schools and village dispensaries, but the wires will be pulled from behind by district officers and a Central Board of Control. Even in all places the Local Boards will not be permitted to elect their own chairman. So the charge that by this measure Lord Ripon is going to give the people of India a Parliament and weakening the hands of the European officer and the European resident, wholly falls to the ground. His Lordship would have given real impetus to native progress, if he had given the country provincial councils on the representative principle, but however generously his Lordship might be inclined, it is clear that our masters in England would have nothing of the kind. Then Lord Ripon appointed the Hon'ble Romesh Chunder Mitter to act as Chief Justice of Bengal for two months, but in making this appointment his Lordship simply followed the rule of seniority. His Lordship did not appoint the Hon'ble Romesh Chunder Mitter because he was a Native, but because he happened to be the senior judge at the time. As for Mr. Ilbert's Bill it is no concession to Native feeling, but a natural sequence of the policy of progress, which the Government has been steadily pursuing from the days of the East India Company. It will be thus seen that the Government of Lord Ripon is doing nothing which is professedly anti-European or violently pro-native. His Lordship has not changed the fundamental principles of British rule in this country. Of course His Lordship's Government has been honest, just, sympathetic and generous—it recognizes the righteous principle that India should be governed for the good of the Indians. But this is no new principle. It was always avowed by the East India Company and consecrated in the gracious Proclamation of the Queen-Empress in 1858. Why should then Lord Ripon be charged with a revolutionary programme, because he is justly anxious to carry into effect honestly the noble behests of his Sovereign? From party motives the Conservatives may attack his Lordship, but Englishmen, Conservatives or Liberals, who care for the good government of India, and who appreciate England's mission in the East, cannot consistently condemn the liberal and enlightened principles on which Lord Ripon is seeking to govern India. We cannot say that his Lordship's action has been in all cases wise, but his worst enemies cannot deny that his motives have been thoroughly honest, just, and righteous.

THE RENT BILL DEBATE.

V.

BABU DURGA CHRN LAW'S SPEECH.

THE Hon'ble Durga Churn Law as a practical man made a practical speech on the Rent Bill. He is himself both a merchant and a landholder, and with his combined experience is peculiarly qualified to pronounce an opinion upon this Bill. And he distinctly declares that "this Bill will, in practice, do more harm than good by destroying good feeling between the zemindar and the ryot, and putting them perpetually at logger-heads. When such is manifestly the tendency of the Bill, a departure from the existing law in a way that will unsettle the relations between landlord and tenant cannot but be regarded as an experiment of questionable character and doubtful efficacy." He goes into some details, and thus delivers himself: I "The object of Chapter III seems to be to restrain the practice said to be prevailing in Behar of converting ryoti lands into Khamar or Zeerat lands. I must say, that, if it exists, it is only confined to that province. In Lower Bengal, I am prepared to say, there is no desire on the part of landholders to increase the area of Khamar lands. On the contrary, the laudholders here retain with reluctance ryoti lands in khas possession simply because they cannot find tenants for them." II. "The provisions in Chapter V relating to occupancy rights are entirely new, and I must say that these changes are most objectionable. The existing law or custom does not support them, nor are they based upon the enactments which were superseded by the Act of 1859." III. "Under existing law a tenant with a right of occupancy has the right of holding his tenure so long as he continues to pay his rent, which however is liable to enhancement or reduction to fair and equitable limits under certain conditions. On failure of payment of such rent, he is liable to eviction under a decree of Court. He does not appear to have ever enjoyed a status higher than this. But it is now proposed to confer on him the status of a permanent tenure-holder without fixity of rent at the cost of the rights of the zemindar. The right of pre-emption reserved for the latter will not serve the purpose of restraining transfer to objectionable tenants because, in point of fact, it will involve an unnecessary outlay, for which he can never expect anything like an adequate return. Again, a settled ryot, as described in this chapter, may have a right of occupancy in any land in the village without any reference to the period of his occupation, and in spite of any contract under which he held it. These and other provisions in this chapter introduce a radical change in the established law, and are calculated to create an unnecessary conflict in the relations existing between landlord and tenant." IV. "In Chapter VIII, which deals with ordinary ryots, the Bill confers on him a status which is entirely novel. The result of the extension of his right, one which is not unforeseen by the framers of the Bill, will be the multiplication of subordinate tenures which would have the effect of defeating the very object for which the provisions have been made. But it is stated that the Government will put down the evil by future legislation. To my mind it seems to be more judicious not to allow the mischief to arise than to create complications and then to find means to check them." These were the main propositions affirmed by the Hon'ble Durga Churn Law; his arguments were brief, but to the point and thoroughly practical.

DR. HUNTER'S SPEECH.

The Hon'ble Dr. Hunter as an economist viewed the Bill from an economic point of view, and although he ostensibly supported the Bill he practically condemned it in the strongest terms possible. He said: "I agree with the general objects of the Bill, but there are three points which I hope the Select Committee will carefully consider. These are, first, that attempts to interfere by statute, as opposed to custom, between tenants-at-will and the laws of supply and demand, have seldom been successful. Second, that although we may declare that rents shall not exceed five-sixteenths of the produce, the laws of supply and demand will, in the case of the tenants-at-will, be too strong for a hard and fast line of this sort. Third, that the compensation for disturbances, amounting to ten times the enhancement of the rent, is excessive, and as such is unjust. Again this Bill is in reality an attempt to counteract by legislative devices a fundamental economic change which has taken place in the relation of landlord and tenant in Bengal. It is by economic tests that the measure must now be tried, for by its economic results it will hereafter be justified or condemned."

Dr. Hunter correctly observes that the great body of Bengal tenantry at the date of the Permanent Settlement was divided into two classes, *khudkasht* or resident ryot and *paikasht* or tenant-at-will. The only distinction then made but now forgotten is this—the *khudkasht* ryot was an hereditary resident ryot and not a mere squatter. The *paikasht* ryot or tenant-at-will was then in a better position than the *khudkasht* ryot, because the land was so vast and the tenants so few. Practically the *paikasht* ryot paid a lower rate of rent than the *khudkast* ryot. But now the front is changed. As population has increased and the profits of agriculture have increased, the demand for land has increased; and this competition for land has necessarily given rise to competitive rent. The Government proposes to arrest this natural growth of economic laws. Will it succeed? Dr. Hunter justly says—no. Dr. Hunter remarks: "The present law endeavours to redress this state of things. To the *khudkhast* or resident tenants, who were protected by usage at the time of the Permanent Settlement, it gives the protection of a code of clearly defined liabilities and rights. For the *paikhast*, or tenants-at-will who were protected by the economic law of supply and demand at the time of the Permanent Settlement, it creates certain legal safeguards which it hopes will save them from the extreme pressure of competition. In doing so it attempts to set up a breakwater between the operation of supply and demand and a portion of the cultivating classes. No one can read the elaborate evidence which has been submitted to the Council with regard to the state of the agricultural population in Bengal, without feeling that the Government is called to make this attempt. But no one can study the history of similar efforts to interfere, not by customary usage, but by statute, between economic laws and their economic results, without seriously asking himself whether such an attempt is likely to be successful. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Kristodas Pal has shown how much can be said against such an attempt. Legal restrictions which curtail the landlord's power over his estate tend to render him averse to investing capital in the improvement of his land. Nor must it be forgotten that, in Lower Bengal itself, the circumstances of districts differ so widely as to make any single rule inapplicable to all. In Behar and other overcrowded tracts, the tenant is at the mercy of the landlord. In Chittagong and some other Districts, there is still a surplus for the cultivators to pick and choose among at their pleasure. The Commissioner of Chittagong, in a recent Report, describes the practice there in vogue as a system which "checks all disposition to rack-rent and enables the cultivator to take up as much or as little land as suits him." I trust that the economic difficulties of the measure will be clearly realised, and that the Select Committee will give a fair and patient consideration to the arguments of the landholding classes whose rights will be curtailed by the Bill."

We entirely concur with Dr. Hunter. Arbitrary interference with economic laws is sure

to defeat its own object. The law may prevent the zemindar from deriving a legitimate share of the profits of his capital, and the result will be that he will withhold his capital. But the ryot will not escape the effects of economic laws. The competitive tenants will have to pay competitive rent; instead of the real owner of the soil the idle tenure-holder will intercept the profits. This will be the practical effect of the Bill from an economic point of view.

THE RENT BILL AGITATION.

WE are not surprised that the new Rent Bill has filled the zemindars with apprehension and alarm. At the last annual meeting of the British Indian Association several leading zemindars gave expression to their opinion on the Bill. The retiring President, Maharaja Narendrakrishna, condemned the Bill as an "ill-digested one." He remarked that "the Bill provides that when an occupancy ryot cultivates one plot of land in a village, he acquires the right for all lands that he may hold in another village, though he may not be in possession of them for 12 years. If he wants to part with his holdings, his landlord is to have the right of the pre-emption; but when the latter lets them to a third person, that person acquires the right of occupancy from the date his tenancy begins, and the rent payable by him must be regulated according to the rates prevailing in the neighbourhood. This direction of the law would not benefit the zemindar in any way, for if he purchase the right of the ryot and cannot increase the rent, he obtains no advantage for the amount he lays out in the purchase. I must say that this provision of the Bill is unfair." And so on. The Maharaja Sir Joteenda Mohan Tagore spoke outfirmly and unequivocally on the subject. He said: "I think that this Bill, if passed into law, will effect a re-distribution of property on communistic principle, for the ryots are to be raised to the status of co-partners, and the zemindars relegateed to the position of only one-fifth shareholders in the estate, though their responsibilities as owners will perhaps remain all the same. The veriest squatters, who chooses to set up four bamboos with a *chupper* over head is to be entitled to "compensation for disturbance,"—an idea quite novel in our land system, and evidently imported from the New Irish land law which has justly raised so much dissatisfaction among the landowners of England and Ireland." The Maharaja continued: "The idea of giving to the Bengal teuantry the three Fs—namely, fixty of tenure, fair rent, and free sale seems also to have been borrowed from the same law; but the Bengal Bill goes a step further and follows the old adage about Peter and Paul, for, in giving the three Fs to the ryots, it proposes to deprive the zemindars of three Ps—namely, proprietorship, privilege, and prestige." The Maharaja urged a very reasonable question, *viz.*, compensation to the zemindars. He remarked:

Admitting, however, for the sake of argument that the modern construction of the Permanent Settlement is the right one, I would ask if it would not be extremely hard and unjust to the zemindars of the present day, who have laid out large sums of money in the purchase of what they had hitherto been led to believe was an entire property in the soil, to be told that they are only one-fifth shareholders in the estate, and that, too, under sundry conditions and limitations. The zemindars have acted *bona fide*, and in good faith and under an honest conviction, in which they have been confirmed, as I have said, by the highest authority; and now to deprive them by a single stroke of the pen, without any compensation of rights, which rightly and wrongly they have been permitted to enjoy for nearly ninety years, the longest period for the accrual of a prescriptive right being only sixty years, would, I submit, be little short of confiscation. And here I would further question—For whose benefit are the Zemindars' interests being sacrificed? The actual cultivators hardly gain much under the present Bill, but it is the jotedars and middle-class men who will be most benefited, or, in other words, a class of small landowners is to be raised in the room of the large Zemindars. And is this, I ask, a wise policy? I believe it is an accepted doctrine of political economy that the large landholders are the most lenient and that it is the small landowners who have the greatest temptation to press hard upon their tenantry. If, however, the Zemindars are considered an anachronism in the present communistic spirit of the age, with which unfortunately a portion of our educated young countrymen seem to sympathise in imitation of certain European nations, it would be better to purchase the Zemindars out by paying them a fair market value for their estates. The ryots, then, would perhaps be happier under the direct khas management of the Government, and the demand of modern radicalism would, in a great measure, be satisfied, and most of the Zemindars would be too glad to be relieved of that constant friction with the Government on the one hand and with the ryots on the other. The much-abused landed aristocracy might without injustice, be thus got rid of to the satisfaction of all parties concerned.

The Maharaja is quite right. If the zemindars really encumber the soil according to the radical ideas of our radical rulers, by all means cut them off, but give them a fair and reasonable compensation. Such a course was adopted in Prussia and may well be followed in this country. We subscribe to every word which has fallen from Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore on this point.

The veteran zemindar Babu Joykissen Mukerji, thus characterized the Bill: "No Bengal Rent Bill could have been drafted in such gross ignorance of the history, condition, and circumstances of the people, in such wanton violation of vested rights, and in such utter want of foresight of the practical results of its operation as the Bill in question. While the great curse of the ryot continues to be the large amount of process and other fees which by swelling his liability in simple rent suits in many cases, to four or five times the amount of arrears of rent, increase the revenues of Government, the practical effect of the Bill will be to increase litigation to an alarming extent, and to place ryots at the mercy of petty-fogging toutors and mookhtears." Babu Joykissen Mookerji was also in favor of Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore's proposal to surrender zemindari rights on payment of reasonable compensation. He said: "If I have read the feeling of my brother landholders aright, Government may adopt a much easier and a much less objectionable course to carry out their wishes. The landholders in a body will be only too glad to part with their properties to Government, and to take in return Government Loan Securities guaranteeing them their present profits." Other members also commented on the Bill.

The meeting of the British Indian Association was followed up by a meeting of the zemindars of Shahabad in Behar. We have received the following telegraphic account of this meeting:

A monster meeting of zemindars held at Arrah to-day. Maharaja Doomraon presided. The following resolutions were passed. First that the provisions of the Tenancy Bill 1883 vitally affect the proprietary interests of the zemindars as guaranteed to them by the Permanent Settlement. Second that the advantages afforded by the bills to the tenants are substantive and new while those offered to the zemindars are nil. That the Bill in fact proposes a re-distribution of property between landlords and tenants without offering any compensation to the landlord for what is taken away from the sum of his rights and the provisions too not fall within the power reserved to the Governor-General at the time of the Permanent Settlement to enact laws for the protection and welfare of dependant talookdars and ryots. Third that inasmuch as it is admitted by the Government that a grave case of necessity justifying the re-distribution of property has not arisen, but that Government is simply trying to place the ryots in the position which they occupied at the time of the Permanent Settlement, the rights of the zemindars in so far as they existed at that date plus the rights of state which were transferred to them under the Permanent Settlement in lieu of a permanent money revenue a consideration to which Government receives to the present day should not be invaded. That the further extension of occupancy rights, their transferability and the various restrictions to freedom of contract as also the limit of the maximum of enhancement to a fifth of the value of the produce totally trench upon the vested rights of the zemindars. Fourth that it is unwise to counteract the economic laws of supply and demand to unsettle customary laws and tenures which have been prevalent in Behar and the Behar zemindars look with serious apprehension upon the special provisions regarding the commutations of Bhaole tenures as calculated to affect seriously the interests of agriculture in this province. Fifth that a sub-committee be formed to draw up a memorial stating all the objections in detail to which the provisions of the Rent Bill are liable and the same be submitted to Government through Behar Landholders Association of Bankipore. The speeches expressed great consternation and dismay.

We are glad to observe that the zemindars are up and doing. The Central Committee of landholders met on Wednesday last and resolved to take active steps for agitation on the subject. They will issue a circular inviting the opinion of Mofussil Zemindars, both European and Native, on the salient points of the Bill. We are glad to observe that Mr. Keswick has promised hearty co-operation with the Committee, of which he is a member. We hope all persons in the Mofussil interested in the land question will put their shoulders to the wheel and work in this common cause.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE ON LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE'S interesting paper on local self-government in India in the *Contemporary Review* has appeared at an especially opportune moment. The *Times*, misled by its Calcutta Correspondent, has been questioning the wisdom of the self-government scheme which has been framed by Lord Ripon's Government. The *Thunderer* is losing no opportunity to make the British public believe that the measure is a mistake. At such a moment it is of the highest importance that the real character of the policy should be explained to the English people. Sir Richard Temple has generously come forward to do this, and we cannot express adequately our obligations to him for undertaking the task. He justly observes at the outset that the idea that everything should be *for* the people and nothing *by* them, or, in other words, that everything should be effected by the Government and nothing through the agency of the people themselves, is not likely to be approved by the British public. But unfortunately for India the bulk of the British public do not know the actual conditions existing in this country. In their ignorance of the state of India they are apt to be misled by designing and interested persons. If they are once convinced that the transfer to the people of the management of the village roads and communications, or primary and middle-class education, sanitation and medical work will not shake the foundations of the British Empire in Asia, they will cordially approve Lord Ripon's policy. A free people like the British nation will not fail to recognise the importance of affording to their Indian fellow-subjects the means of acquiring that practical and political education, which arises from local self-government. Their generous instincts will rebel against the idea of keeping the teeming millions of India in leading-strings for an indefinitely long time. The Englishman who undertakes to explain to the British public the real character of the local self-government which the Government of Lord Ripon propose to introduce into India is, therefore, a great benefactor to our countrymen and is entitled to their heartfelt gratitude.

We wish Sir Richard Temple's paper under notice had been fuller than it is. Nevertheless, if carefully studied, the paper will accomplish the object which Sir Richard had in view in writing it. He points out that for many years past, indeed almost from the beginning of British rule, there has been in India the germ of what in England is known local government and taxation and that this germ has been fostered still in some of the municipalities and the rural towns, and that nearly throughout the districts in the interior local affairs are under the management of local bodies consisting partly of Europeans and partly of Natives. But then from their very constitution these local bodies have been shams rather than realities. "The Native members," as Sir Richard Temple observes, "were nominated by official authority, and were supposed or intended to be representatives of local interests. Still not being elected, they have never been representatives in the English sense of the term. Their proceedings have been under an official control to which there has not been any limitation, either by rule or practice. Despite numerous instances of praiseworthy public spirit there has

often been an atmosphere of apathy pervading their conduct. On the whole, their proceedings have been such as might be expected on the part of those who are not stimulated by a sense of real power and responsibility." Sir Richard Temple has put the case as mildly as possible; but the fact is that local committees in India have hitherto been mere courts of record for registering the decrees of the local executive authorities. The native members had no real power, and they, therefore, took no interest in the proceedings of the committees. They knew well that they were expected to support whatever found favour with the district officer, and that if they voted against him they would share the fate of poor Lal Chand Chowdry of Chittagong. Such being the case, it is no wonder that the native members of the local committees did not take the slightest interest in their proceedings but sat like dummies and acted as *ap ke waste* members.

But then the question is,—will the new scheme of local self-government introduce a better state of things and give real power to the local bodies? Will it afford to the people that practical education which arises from managing their own affairs? Sir Richard Temple, we regret to say, has not discussed this part of the subject with the fulness which its importance demands. He lays much stress on the introduction of the elective principle into the villages or little townships of British India. He writes: "Of all the great classes in India, the agricultural class is the one that can best be trusted with the germ of political privilege, such as electoral representation, for any political purpose, however limited. It is the class that feels most immediately the benefits of British rule, which are seen to be peculiar in an Asiatic country, and in the main its passive loyalty has been proved during times of trial. On the other hand it is politically deficient in active qualities; and if it is to receive moral education under a civilized and enlightened Government such as ours, it needs the stimulus which will be afforded by an electoral system in local affairs. That rural electors will at the outset prove stolid in appreciating the franchise in local affairs, and will be apathetic in exercising it, is but too probable. But if the European officers shall become convinced that the lesson ought to be learnt, they will ere long succeed in teaching it to the people. Public opinion, too, will by degrees warm to the work. The electors themselves will begin to be interested in the matter when they perceive that the elected representatives have real power and responsibility in local administration. Moreover, although the rural folk have not been habituated to formal elections, in which votes are taken, yet they have, from ancient times, been accustomed to see affairs of social importance managed by committees nominated by acclamation, and termed Punchayets? At the best however, the elective system for local purposes may probably prove to be a plant of slow growth among the rural population of India. It may even meet with some indirect discouragement." We doubt very much that European officers will take much interest in teaching the people to appreciate the franchise in local affairs. The vast majority of these officers believe that the country is not ripe for the introduction of the elective principle. It is idle to expect that the officers of Government bred up in the traditions of bureaucracy will foster the beginnings of independent political life among the people. Lord Ripon hopes that they will come to realize that the local self-government system opens to them a fairer field for the exercise of administrative tact and directive energy than the more autocratic system which it supersedes. We confess we do not share this hope. The elective system, we feel assured will generally meet with discouragement at the hands of the European officers of Government. This cannot be too carefully borne in mind in judging of the probable success of the new policy.

Sir Richard Temple is almost entirely silent on the question of control. All that he says on this all-important subject is, that the Local Boards are to have as much of independent power as possible, consistently with the control of official authority in two respects—first, the sanction of certain specified acts, such as the raising of loans, and the imposition of taxes, and, secondly, the power of suspending temporarily a Board from its functions in case of any gross and continued neglect of an important duty. It is needless to point out that every thing will depend on the manner in which the proceedings of the Local Boards are controlled. We should have very much liked to know whether Sir Richard Temple approves or disapproves the appointment of non-official chairmen. As regards the mode of appointing chairman, there are, as Mr. Rivers Thomson recently pointed out from his place in the Bengal Legislative Council, that there are before the Government one of three courses: 1st that the Magistrate should be excluded from being Chairman; secondly, that the Government should have a right to nominate an official; and thirdly, that the Chairman be appointed by election. We think that the Chairman should be appointed by election but that the Magistrate should be declared ineligible for election to the office. Mr. Rivers Thompson is convinced that the people are not willing to accept the presidency of the Magistrate. We do not hesitate to say that if the Magistrate be not excluded from being Chairman, he will as a rule be elected to the office, not because he is liked, but because he is dreaded. People will not dare to incur the district officer's displeasure by opposing his appointment as Chairman. The man who has the temerity to vote against the Magistrate's election will become a marked man, and sooner or later he will share the fate of Lalchand Chowdry of Chittagong, of whom mention has been made above. If the Boards were left free to elect their Chairman, our belief is that generally their choice will fall upon the Magistrate; and if that be the case the new Boards will be as huge shams as the existing Committees are. Sir Richard Temple should to our thinking, have distinctly told the British public that though the new local boards will be constituted on the elective principle, the real control will after all rest with the Government.

THE COST OF THE EGYPTIAN WAR.

THE despatches of the Government of India to the Secretary of State on India's share of the cost of the Eyptian War have been published. They are masterly documents. They evidently bear the impress of our Finance Minister's hand. The case of the dumb millions of India has been put with an ability, knowledge, and logic, for which those millions, if they could speak, could not express their gratitude in adequate terms. We have neither time nor space to analyze those despatches at length, we will therefore content ourselves with a brief statement. The Government of India thus begin their despatch of the 4th August 1882:

It was with surprise that we received your Lordship's telegram of 24th July. British policy in Egypt has been up to the present time wholly under the direction of her Majesty's Government in England. The Government of India has never been consulted as to the principles by which, having regard to Indian interests, that policy should be guided. Neither has her Majesty's Government at any time communicated any information in respect to current events in Egypt to the Government of India. So far as any communication from her Majesty's Government is concerned, we are, indeed, even at this moment in ignorance of the policy which has been pursued, and which it is proposed to pursue, in Egypt, and of the military plans which are in contemplation to give effect to that policy. Any opinions which we may form on these subjects must be based on information supplied to us by the public press. We are far from complaining that the Government of India should not have been consulted in respect to the principles which should guide the policy of her Majesty's Government in Egypt. That country lies within the sphere of European politics. In deciding upon the course of action to be, from time to time, pursued in Egypt, her Majesty's Government has, without doubt, had to consider many aspects of the question which lie wholly outside the range of Indian politics and of Indian interests. The large interest which, independently of the Indian trade, England possesses in the Suez Canal; the vast amount of capital which the British subjects, of her Majesty have invested in Egypt; the fact that in order to protect those interests, her Majesty's late and present Governments have, in concert with the Government of the French Republic, deemed it advisable to exercise some interference in the internal administration of Egypt; the further fact that her Majesty's Government, in concert with the other Powers of Europe, and with the Government of the United States of America, has been instrumental in establishing a system of international tribunals in Egypt; the pecuniary interest, amounting to about 200,000*l.* a year, which the English Treasury, since the purchase of the Suez Canal shares, possesses in the solvency of the Egyptian Government; the considerable trade which is carried on, especially in cotton, between the United Kingdom and Egypt; and lastly, the complex and divers political and material interests possessed by the various States of Europe in Egyptian affairs,—are all matters in which India is either unconcerned or is at most only remotely and indirectly concerned. Under these circumstances we have always regarded Egyptian policy as a matter of Imperial interest. The responsibility for the conduct of that policy lies wholly with her Majesty's Government in England. The results of that policy, when beneficial, have accrued. and will accrue, mainly to her Majesty's British subjects. If on the other hand it results from that policy that armed intervention in Egypt is necessary, it seems to us that the cost of such intervention should be borne by the British tax-paying community whose interests in the welfare and good government of Egypt greatly predominate over those of her Majesty's Indian subjects.

We subscribe to every word of the above. We have always held that the Eyptian War was a purely imperial question, and that the Indian revenue ought not to be charged with it. The case has been so strongly put by the Government of India that we have little to add to it.

The Government of India next discuss the several cases in which India has supplied England with troops to meet the exigencies of imperial policy. Referring to the expenses to the Abysinian War, Lord Lawrence writes: "England, paid no portion of the heavy expenditure of the Afgan war, nor of the Mutiny. When in 1859 and 1860 the finances of India were in great disorder, a guarantee of the debt which we had to contract would have afforded a sensible relief to our finances, and at no actual cost to England. But such an idea was rejected by statesmen of all classes in that country. The view was that India should meet its own expenditure and bear its own burthens. Why should not this argument now apply to England? "All the troops and all the material which were sent from England to aid in putting down the Mutiny in 1557 and 1858 were paid for out of Indian revenues. It was nevar urged that because this measure offorded a temporary relief to the British Exchequer, that a portion of the ordinary cost of these troops should be paid by England. It is true that England had to raise more troops in the place of those supplied to India on that occasion, but not at all to the extent of those which was sent out to this country." India had supplied troops for the Abyssinian war, and the Lord Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury were of opinion that "under the special circumstances of the case, the ordinary pay of the troops &c., in the service of the Indian Government which may be employed in the expedition will remain a charge upon the Indian Exchequer." The cost was accordingly divided between England and India. But this decision did not pass unchallenged in the House of Commons. "Heavy taxation," Mr. Fawcett said, "was infinitely preferable to this country, incurring the reproach of having cast the slightest injustice on the unrepresented millions who lived in our dependencies." And the Marquis of Salisbury (then Viscount Cranborne) expressed himself as follows:—"Having regard to the future, I do not like India to be looked upon as an English barrack in the Oriental seas from which we may draw any number of troops without paying for them. It is bad for England, because it is always bad for us not to have that check upon the temptation to engage in little wars which can only be controlled by the necessity of paying for them." Perhaps the case of Malta is most analogous, and Lord Ripon's Government thus notice this case.:

We now turn to the case of the despatch of troops to Malta in 1878. A somewhat close analogy exists between this case and that which is now under discussion. Without attempting to discuss the whole of the circumstances which led to the despatch of troops to Malta, we think it will be very generally admitted that one of the considerations which led to

the adoption of that measure was the fear that Constantinople might pass out of the hands of the Ottoman Government into those of another Power. We may also, we think, assume that one reason why the question of the possession of Constantinople is alleged to be of importance to British and to Indian interests is that it is said to lie on the flank of the communications between England and the East. In this case, however, the whole of the cost of the troops, whether ordinary or extraordinary, was borne by the Imperial Government.

Of course India is interested in the Suez Canal, but as the Government of India point out the sole material interest which India possesses in Egypt is that the transit of ships through the Suez Canal should be ensured. The Despatch continues: "We are unable to say to what an extent, if any, it would, from the commencement of the present complications, have been possible to separate the question of the Canal, in which alone India has any material interest, from other Egyptian questions, in which India has no interest whatever So far as we have been able to make out ftom the statistics at our command, it may be roughly estimated that, taking the tonnage of the ships which pass through the Canal as a basis of comparison, about 50 per cent of those ships trade to and from India—a proportion which is, again, divided into 41 per per cent of ships sailing under the British flag, and 9 per cent of ships sailing under the flag of other nationalities. We readily admit that India is more interested in the Suez Canal than Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, Hong-Kong, the Australian Colonies, Tasmania, or New Zealand, and indeed that the Indian interest in the Canal is greater than that of all those colonies taken together. But the difference is only one of degree. We do not understand on what principle of political equity India can be called upon to defray any part of the cost of armed intervention in Egypt, unless the Australian and other Colonies are called upon to pay their proportionate share. Although we have no certain information on this subject, we think that we may safely assume that Her Majesty's Government has no intention of calling upon those Colonies to contribute any portion of the expenditure consequent on the Egyptian Expedition. We consider, therefore, that it will be unjust to demand payment from India alone of all Her Majesty's Eastern dominions." We entirely concur. Her Majesty's Government has yielded to the logic of the Government of India, though, we are sorry to observe, not to the fullest extent.

AFFAIRS AT BOMBAY.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Bombay, April 10.

KHAN BAHADUR KAZI SHAHABUDIN has been installed in the office of Prime Minister of Baroda. The ceremony of investing him with the *Poshak* or Dress of Honor, in accordance with the traditions of native rule, came off at Baroda on the morning of Sunday at the Durbar held by the Maharaja Gaekwar on account of the Hindu New Year's Day of the Shalivahan year. It is not true, as has gone round in the papers, that the salary of the new Dewan is cut down to Rs. 3,000 a month, and that other important officers of State have suffered in the like proportion. I have it on what I consider a reliable authority that no such curtailment, as has been rumoured abroad, has taken place in the emoluments of the chief officers of State. I cannot help thinking that it would have been a false economy to have attempted such curtailment. The Dewan of Baroda is, in fact, a *quasi* ruler of the state. He has to administer revenues bordering close upon two crores of rupees. The high salary attached to the office, carries with it, moreover, a certain prestige which it is on all accounts desirable, especially in a Native State, to sedulously maintain. The change in the administration has been looked upon, in some quarters, with distrust, and it is even hinted that the appointment of Mr. Kazi Shahabudin as Dewan is only temporary, and is likely to be followed by a change at no distant date. I do not believe this is true. As to the wisdom of making a change in the Dewan of Baroda at a time when the Gaekwar is still young and inexperienced, I find that opinions vary. There can be no doubt as to the high administrative talents of Sir T. Madava Rao. But these very talents which found free scope for exercise when Sir T. Madava Rao was, in fact, uncontrolled master of Baroda, appeared to stand in the way of the smooth working of the administrative machinery, when the minister's policy was subjected to the test of his master's approval. One great failing of Sir T. Madava Rao's administration was the policy of doing what would best please the British authorities often at the sacrifice of the interests of the State he was called upon to rule. But while he succeeded in gaining the good will of the Agent to the Governor General at Baroda, and through him of the Government of India, he, it seems, could not pull on well with the Maharaja, and it soon appeared that relations between the Dewan and his master had become so strained that the best thing that could be done in the interests of the State would be for Sir T. Madava Rao to sever his connection. It cannot be said that Sir Madava Rao has upon the whole reasons to be dissatisfied with this severance of his connection. Besides the regular emoluments attached to his office as Dewan, Sir Madava Rao has received some three lakhs of rupees in hard cash as reward for his services, and now I understand he is to get a pension of Rs. 15,000 a year. He has thus no cause to complain of illiberal treatment. At the same time I cannot help thinking that his best time to retire from the service of the State was when the Maharaja ascended the throne last year. At the time the Minister was in the zenith of his glory, and his relations between him and his master were of the happiest. The new Dewan is a tried and experienced officer of the State. Khan Bahadur Kazi Shahabudin has seen service under the British and Native Governments. He is a native of Sawant Wari. He received his education in the Poona College, since known as the Deccan College. Much I should say, almost a paternal interest in his studies, was manifested by the late General Sir W. Grand Jacob, Political Agent of Sawant Wari, when Mr. Kazi was a young college student. Sir W. Grand Jacob, when appointed to Cutch as Political Agent, took Mr. Kazi Shahabudin with him and employed him in the Agency Office. From Cutch Mr. Kazi was transferred to Ahmedabad, where he was appointed mamladar in the Dholka taluka. Step by step he rose in the revenue line, and was highly thought of by Mr., now, the Hon'ble T. C. Hope, then Collector of Ahmedabad. He was, however, not long in the service of the British Government when Maharaja Pragmalji—the late Rao of Cutch, who, had seen much of Mr. Kazi whilst in the agency office at Cutch, took him into his service as Dewan of Cutch. The Rao was then engaged in a troublesome controversy with the British Government on account of his sovereign rights over his Bhagads. He was drawn into this controversy by the then Political Agent of Cutch, Colonel A. Y. Snortt, Mr. Kazi Shahabudin was accordingly sent on a political mission to England. He stayed for about four years in England. On his return to India his services were availed of by Sir Bartle Frere in a political mission to Zanzibar for the purpose of concluding a treaty with the Sultan of that State regarding the suppression of the slave trade in Eastern Africa. Sir Bartle Frere acknowledged in very fitting terms the valuable services which were rendered to the mission by Khan Bahadur Kazi Shahabudin, in a letter he wrote to H. H. the Rao of Cutch at the time. On his return to Cutch Mr. Kazi continued in the office of Dewan, about this time his services were called into requisition by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji during the latter gentleman's Dewanship of Baroda in Mulhar Rao's time. With Mr. Dadabhai's retirement from Baroda Mr. Kazi also retired, but his knowledge and experience of the revenue department in Baroda were too valuable to be lost to the State, and one of the first acts of the new administration formed after the deposition of Mulhar Rao and the appointment of Sir T. Madava Rao as Dewan of Baroda was to send for Mr. Kazi and appoint him Revenue Commissioner once more. In this office he had worked for nearly nine years, and introduced important reforms. Their result has been that the great cry of the peasantry about excessive and arbitrary assessment of land in Baroda has subsided, and the landed classes are as contented as in the neighbouring British territory. Mr. Kazi has had confidence expressed in him in his abilities, and as a revenue officer by Sir Lewis Pelly, Sir Richard Meade, and Mr. Melville, who succeeded one after another in the office of Agent to the Governor-General at Baroda. The general satisfaction expressed by all classes of the people in Baroda, on Sunday last when the new Dewan was invested with the *Poshak* of his office testifies to his popularity.

The very able letter of Sir Arthur Hobhouse, late legal member of the Council of India, puts the chief points in respect of the Jurisdiction Bill so tersely and clearly before the British public that it leaves hardly any thing more to be desired on the subject. There is a great deal of sense and a great deal of truth in what Sir Arthur Hobhouse concludes from the past history of agitation by the Europeans in this country in respect of their criminal jurisdiction, and which I trust the present Government of India will well lay to heart. Past history shows that all the mischiefs which were expected to flow from the extension of jurisdiction from the High Courts to the district Courts in India have not followed in fact, and that in like manner, it is reasonable to conclude that all the fearful consequences of the present extension of the jurisdiction which the imaginations of the non-official Europeans have at present tried to picture before them, will vanish in the course of a few months. All that the Government need do at present is not to give way but to act firmly and resolutely in the matter, and they will be sure to reap the reward of their patience. The ebullition will vanish as soon as it is known that the Bill has been passed into Act. Administrative inconvenience, justice to the people, the solemn pledges conveyed in the Queen's Proclamation of 1857, and the progress of the country material and moral—all demand that the measure be passed, without any of those compromises or palliative courses, which are apt to make the boon worse than useless.

LATEST NEWS AND NOTES.

AS THE report of the last annual meeting of the British Indian Association has run to considerable length we are compelled to keep back some portion of editorial matter.

WE HAVE RECEIVED the third number of the *Voice of India*. We are glad to note that each successive number is an improvement upon its predecessor. We congratulate Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Malabari on the success, which has already crowned their efforts. Their organ will be a most useful ally to the proposed Representative Committee of Indians in England.

WE ARE GLAD to learn that Mr. Robert Knight has returned to Calcutta. His return to India at this juncture is a matter of congratulation.

THE PIONEER is gradually cooling down. It admits that the Calcutta Correspondent of the *Times* has been a partizan, but as might be expected it makes light of the charge. It says: "If the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, infected by the prevailing excitement, has unconsciously coloured his statements in sympathy with the opponents of the Bill, the representative of Reuter's agency in Calcutta has distorted his report of the debate in the Legislative Council on the 9th March, in the ostensible interests of its advocates, with an ingenuity so perverse that to characterize it adequately might be dangerous." The lines drawn by our contemporary between the two are natural enough from the position occupied by him, but it is something to get an admission from him that the Calcutta telegrams of the *Times* have been colored by partizanship and that the British nation was consequently put on the wrong scent. Our contemporary then carps at the tone of the Native Press. But whose fault is it? The Independent Britons in India have made a mountain of a mole-hill. As for the bitterness of the tone of the Native Press, it is a reflection of the spirit of the Anglo-Indian Press. *It is tit for tat.*

WE ARE GLAD to observe that the great Tribune of the British nation, Mr. John Bright, has spoken out regarding Lord Ripon's Indian policy. He said at Glasgow :

"I have had the pleasure now of knowing Lord Ripon for many years—since he was very young, and when he first entered Parliament, and I know a good deal of what he has done and is doing in India. You have heard, probably, of some extention of municipial government to the natives of India, and of a proposition to give to a few Judges in India somewhat extended powers, under which some offenders not natives of India, but natives of this country, may be tired. What are the kinds of argument that are used by the opponents of this proposition ? They say, India was obtained by the sword, and India must be kept, and can only be kept, by the sword. They say, 'Your proposal is all very well ; but the great Empire that has been conquered by breaking all the Ten Commandments (laughter, and oh!) cannot be retained by the principles of the Sermon on the Mount.' (Cheers.) Therefore, it is argued, that you must make no concession to two hundred millions of people. But if you are teaching them your language, and allowing them to read your books, and teaching them your science, do you mean to say that you can h d this people always and only by the sword ; and that when you enter the Suez Canal, in Egypt, or pass the Cape of Good Hope, you must throw overboard your New Testament, for they have no bearing on the British Indian Empire ? (Cheers.) I am certain—of nothing more certain—that the mild, generous, and just administration of Lord Ripon, and such as Lord Ripon is the greatest security that we can have for the continuance of the present relations between the United Kingdom and India, and which is at the same time likely to promote, so long as it shall last, the best adventages which are possible to both countries. (Cheers.)"

This is the right view. The British nation ought to consider the question so happily put by its noblest representative.

Mr. JUSTICE NORRIS made the following confession of faith from the bench :

Re Shaik Wali.—His Lordship, on taking his seat on the Bench this morning, addressed the Standing Counsel, stating that he had looked into this case very carefully, and thought that when he found that he, as a Judge, had committed a mistake, he ought to admit and correct it. His Lordship did not think that he had sufficiently drawn the attention of the Jury to the count under Section 324 of the P. C. He did not think he had drawn the attention of the Jury as he ought to have done, to the interpretation of the words "voluntarily causing hurt," which implied previous knowledge. He also thought that prisoner's Counsel should have drawn attention to the definition of those words. It would also be remembered that when the Jury gave their verdict he asked them whether they had negatived the intention. He further felt sorry to say that the view which struck the Jury did not strike him. It came to this that the Jury had not been sufficiently directed, and that they ought to have been satisfied that the defendant, when he administered the *datura*, had the nkowledge that it would produce the consequences which it did produce. His Lordship felt himself much to blame that he did not direct the Jury on this point too. He had not directed them properly. The sentence he had then passed had not been recorded, and in comparing the sentence he then passed with the sentence he had passed in another case on Saturday last, he found them grossly inconsistent. What he proposed to do was this. He proposed to have the prisoner brought up by his bailee, and he would then sentence him to one day's imprisonment.

This reminds us of the case of a Bengal Civilian. He had infringed a Railway rule, and as no one would prosecute him, he prosecuted himself, tried his own case, and sentenced himself to a fine of Rs. 50! This gentleman is still in the service.

WE HAVE had before us a letter from three M. Ps. to the Honorary Secretary to the National Representative Committee of Natives of India in which they express the warmest sympathy with the people of India. Speaking on behalf of themselves and brother M. Ps. they say "it is not merely ten or twenty but a hundred Members of Parliament would be glad to help the cause of Indian reform *if they were better acquainted with the real wants of the Indian people*, but until an efficient organization, adequately representing the Indian people, has been established, how can your friends in Parliament know how or when to assist you ?" This is quite true. The Indian Associations ought to combine and place their united strength at the disposal of Indian friends in Parliament. The M. P's remark :

We observed with much pleasure the grateful and sympathetic spirit in which your Committee referred to the reforms introduced by Lord Ripon, and we fully shared your desire to assist the benevolent intentions of the present Governor-General towards the natives of India. You showed a proper feeling in recognizing the efforts of upright and honest Englishmen to raise and improve the condition of India, and to place the natives of India on terms of just equality with the European subjects of the Crown. Lord Ripon's administration is not however eternal. A narrow-minded and intolerent class is already endeavouring to cripple and injure his reforms. A change of policy in England might cause a serious change of policy at Calcutta towards natives of India. If you wish to preserve and extend the reforming influence of a just Governor-General, you must prepare to support just legislation *by bringing sound and accurate information on Indian questions to te Imperial Parliament in London.*

If you take for instance the recent introduction of a measure for placing native Indian Magistrates more on a just level with European Magistrates in India, you must be aware of the efforts made by the same narow-minded and intolerant class to perpetuate the system of unjust exclusion of natives of India from the equal privileges of British citizens. The enemies of Indian constitutional rights are very active. They have their associations and their meetings, and their statements of pretended facts for the purpose of causing the imperial Parliament to condemn the policy of Lord Ripon.

Why should not the friends of constitutional rights be equally well supplied with information and facts ?

Until the representatives of Indian opinion are able to place their friends in Parliament in possession of the true fact with regard to Indian reform, there can be no effective exposure of the misrepresentations which are made against the cause of Indian progress and reform.

A London organization in the present circumstances of India is an absolute necessity. The only question is whether a Committee of students, for the Indians residing in England are for the most part students, will be the best organization for this purpose.

HERE IS a parallel, the moral of which we commend to the Anglo-Indian Defence Association. We take it from the *Pall Mall Gazette* :

"The agitation now going on among the European residents of Calcutta against the proposal of the Government of India to extend the jurisdiction of native magistrates recalls" (writes a correspondent lately resident in China) "a similar agitation a few years ago in Hong-Kong. In 1877-78 Governor Pope Hennessy was engaged in bringing the penal code of the colony into accordance with modern ideas. He employed the prerogative of the Crown to suspend the flogging and branding of Chinese criminals, and the wholesale deportation of the latter to the neighbouring mainland. The European portion of the community used every endeavour to prevent the Governor carrying out his policy. An indignation meeting, from which the Chinese retired *en masse*, was held, and it is curious to note that, as at the recent meeting in Calcutta, the first hostile resolution was moved by a Mr. Keswick, also a member of the well-known firm of Jardines. It was declared that the lash was the only suitable punishment for criminals of Chinese descent, and the 'undue leniency' of the Governor was reprobated in sundry speeches by irate colonial orators. Two years' trial of the new system showing that it caused a diminution in crime, the Governor had the satisfaction of obtaining the sanction of the Home Government to the abolition by laws of the use of the lash except in case where it would be permitted in courts at home.

The result of another step taken in Hong Kong at the same time has a direct bearing on the Indian jurisdiction question. A Chinese, Mr. NgChoy, who was called to the English bar, was appointed by the Governor to act as one of the two police magistrates of the island. Some outcry was raised at first, but ultimately it was acknowledged on all hands that this gentleman filled the position with uprightness and ability. The cases which came before him included many in which Europeans were defendants, and no allegatiou of hardship or injustice appears to have been made."

Let the Government pass the Bill, and the time, which heals the deepest wounds, will we feel sure, reconcile the present agitators against it. Perhaps they will themselves hearafter wonder that they had been so foolish as to oppose such an innocuous measure.

DR. DE JONGH'S LIGHT-BROWN COD LIVER OIL.—PRE-EMINENTLY THE COD LIVER OIL FOR USE IN INDIA, AND IN WARM CLIMATE.—Joseph J. Pope Esq., late Staff-Surgeon, Army, Professor of Hygiene Birkbeck Institution, London, writes :—"I found during my Indian experience that the worth and character of Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil remained unchanged by tropical heat or foreign climate, and it was, from its uniformity of character, particularly adapted for long-continued administration. Further, I have noticed the important fact, that Dr. de Jongh's Cod Liver Oil, besides containing all the active constituents of the remedy, is easily assimilated, without the stomach derangement so frequently following the use of the ordinary Oils. The value of 'hydrocarbons' in all debilitated states of the system is now becoming thoroughly recognized ; and it is, without doubt, from the animal oils and fats, rather than from their vegetable substitutes, that we may hope to derive the surest benefit. The Oil of Dr. de Jongh places in every one's reach a reliable and valuable remedy, one that cannot be too widely recognized." Dr. de Jongh's Light-Brown Cod Liver Oil is sold only in capsuled imperial half-pints, pints, and quarts, with his stamp and signature and the signature of his sole consignees on the capsule and the label under wrapper by all chemists, druggists and stors-keepers. Sole consignees, Ansar, Harford, and Co., 77, Strand, London.

LOCAL.

BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION.

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Babu Damudar Das Burmon moved that the report be received and adopted. Kumar Denendranath Roy seconded the motion.

The President then addressed the meeting to the following effect :

Gentlemen,—You all know that at the close of the Calcutta session of the Imperial Legislative Council the Hon'ble Mr. Ilbert, the Law Member, in introducing the New Rent Bill, observed, that certain defects in the Rent Law having been discovered and brought to the notice of Government in respect of procedure, as well as of the rights of the millions of the cultivators who have to depend mainly for their livelihood on the soil and those of the rent receivers, otherwise called landlords, and also in respect of measures for the prevention of disputes arising from illegal distraints, illegal enhancements, illegal cesses and the maintenance of the occupancy rights of the ryots, the provisions of the existing law are inadequate to render them redress and protection ; that they are on account of their proverty left entirely at the mercy of their landlords, and that the exactions made by the latter render it difficult to prove the nature of the ryots' holdings. He further said that revenue payers were transformed into zemindars with whom the permanent settlement was made without defining the rights of the ryots or of the occupying cultivators. But it can be proved on reference to the Regulations of 1793 that the rights to ryots holding at fixed rents were sufficiently protected. The provision of Act X of 1859 clearly defines what constitutes the holding of land at a fixed rate, what a fair and equitable rate of rent is and how a ryot is to be ejected on default of payment of rent under a decree of the Court of law. The Legal Member admitted that Act X of 1859 is working satisfactorily and that its provisions are found to be useful and beneficial to all parties concerned. The Bill now before the Council is an ill-digested one. It is brought forward with the avowed object of conferring additional rights and privileges on the ryots, and curtailing those of the zemindars. The Bill provides that when an occupancy ryot cultivates one plot of land in a village, he acquires the right for all lands that he may hold in another village, though he may not be in possession of them for 12 years. If he wants to part with his holding, his landlord is to have the right of pre emption ; but when the latter lets them to a third person, that person acquires the right of occupancy from the date his tenancy begins, and the rent payable by him must be regulated according to the rates prevailing in the neighbourhood. This direction of the law would not benefit the zemindar in any way ; for if he purchase the right of the ryot and cannot increase the rent, he obtains no advantage for the amount he lays out in the purchase. I must say that this provision of the Bill is unfair. The enhancement of rents should be regulated according to the value of the produce of lands—the landlord receiving at least six annas of the price of such produce for his share and the ryot ten annas. Large sums of money have been laid out by many men for the purchases of zemindaris—and they would not get a fair return for their investment if the law enacts that they should receive less than six annas of the value of produce. Chapter X of the Bill provides for the compensation to be paid to the tenants on their ejectment. The zemindars of Bengal are not in the habit of ousting their ryots from their holdings, when any improvement is effected by the latter. They do so of their own accord ; and in case they could not obtain an adequate profit for their outlay, they would not naturally like to keep the lands in their possession, and would give them up in the hope of recouping themselves by the compensation which their landlords, by the new law, would be unjustly compelled to pay. With regard to the *khamar* lands, they do not exist in any appreciable extent in Bengal. It is therefore unnecessary to cause a survey of them at the expense of the zemindars. Such a proceeding on the part of Government would create distrust among landholders and their tenants. I can confidently state from my own experience that landlords of Bengal never convert *royalty* lands into *khamar* lands, and a survey of such lands, I fear, would lead

to agrarian disturbances. Due facilities for the recovery of, rent should be afforded; and instead of four instalments, a monthly payment should be provided for in the Bill. Our worthy friend, the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal, Rai Bahadoor C. I. E., delivered a most lucid and powerful speech in the Imperial Council, and explained the principles of the law of 1793, and the relations that exist between the landlords and tenants. Bengal is proud of him, and he deserves our best thanks. After concluding these remarks on the Rent Bill, I avail myself of the opportunity to express the deep sense of gratitude of the people of India to the Liberal Ministry of England for sanctioning the payment of a portion of the expenses incurred in despatching Indian troops to Egypt from the revenues of that country. A further concession will I hope, be made by England at no distant time in this item of expenditure. (Applause.)

Motion put and carried.

Babu Gonesh Chunder Chunder moved that the accounts be received and passed.

Babu Kissory Lal Gossain seconded the motion.

Motion put and carried.

Raja Shama Shunker Roy moved that the under-mentioned gentlemen be elected office-bearers for the current year:

PRESIDENT.—Babu Rajendralala Mitra, Rai Bahadoor, L. L. D., C. I. E.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.—Maharajah Narendra Krishna Bahadoor, Rajah Suttyanund Ghosal, Bahadoor, Rajah Harendra Krishna Bahadoor, and Maharajah Krishna Pertab Sahai Bahadoor of Hutwa.

COMMITTEE.—Hon'ble Maharajah Sir Jotendra Mohun Tagore, Bahadoor, K.C.S.I. Babu Joykissen Mookerjee, Hon'ble Doorga Churn Law, Hon'ble Maharaja Luchmessur Singh Bahadoor of Durbhunga, Babu Peary Churn Mitter, Kumar Debendra Mullick, Babu Jodoolal Mullick, Babu Gobindlal Seal, Babu Denonath Mullick, Babu Chunder Kant Mukherjee, Babu Girish Chunder Ghose, Babu Peary Mohun Mukherjee, Rajah Poorno Chunder Singh, Newab Mir Mahomed Ali, Babu Norender Nath Sen, Heerjeebhoy Manickjee Rustomjee, Esq., Babu Obhoy Churn Goho, Babu Shama Churn Law, Babu Jogender Chunder Ghose, Babu Gurudas Banerjee, D. L., Babu Kalinath Mitter, Babu Sreenath Chunder, Babu Surendronath Pal Chowdry, Babu Boikunto Nath Bose, Babu Kaliprosunna Ghose, Babu Juggodish Nath Roy, Babu Saligram Singh, Hon'ble Mahomed Yusuf, Kumar Surat Chunder Singh Bahadoor, Babu Saradendronath Tagore, and Hon'ble Hurbans Sahai. Hon'ble Kristodas Pal, Secretary.

Babu Nejoykissen Mookerjee seconded the motion.

Motion put and carried.

Here the newly elected President took the chair. The new President then addressed the meeting:

Gentlemen:—Before I take your chair, I desire to convey to you my cordial thanks for the honor you have done me. It is the second time you have expressed your confidence in my work in this Association, and I cannot but feel deeply grateful for this mark of your esteem and regard. I have had the honour of working with my colleagues in this Association for nearly thirty years, and it is very gratifying to me to find that my labours, humble as they have been, so well appreciated by you. I can now only assure you that I shall continue to try my best to be worthy of the confidence which you have reposed in me, and as far as my exertions are concerned, you will never find me wanting, although I must confess that my utmost must be but very little. I rely, however, on the hearty co-operation of your Committee-*men*, who bring to their work rare capacity, most varied experience, and thorough knowledge of the country. I feel great diffidence in appearing as the representative of so august an Association, an Association which includes the best and foremost—the men of light and leading—the wealth and intelligence—of my native land. Numerically the Association may not be very large; compared to the number of the native community it is insignificant, but professionally and virtually it represents the whole of the native population of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. No man can fail to appreciate so high an honour as that of being the representative of a nation amounting to something like sixty millions of people. Perhaps this may be considered self-glorification, but you know best whether, including as it does the leading men of the community, this Association is not, as far as it is possible for it to be, the mouthpiece of the nation. That is evidenced by the testimony borne by the Government and all who know any thing of its working; and the zeal, activity, and uprightness with which it has done its work fully justifies me in taking it as the representative of the whole nation. Its past history fully sustains its preeminence, and I devoutly wish it every success. (Applause).

Babu Nundlal Gossain then moved the following Resolution:

That the best thanks of this Association be tendered to the retiring President, Vice-Presidents and the members of the committee for the industry, zeal, and devotedness with which they performed the duties during the past year.

Babu Sitanath Roy seconded the motion.

Motion put and carried.

The following elections made by the Committees were next confirmed:

Babu Keshub Chunder Acharya Chowdry, Zemindar, Mymensing,—proposed by Babu Joykissen Mukerjee, seconded by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra, Rai Bahadoor, LL. D., C. I. E.

Babu Sita Nath Roy, Landholder and Merchant, Dacca,—proposed by Raja Harendra Krishna Bahadur, seconded by Rajah Poorno Chunder Singh, Bahadur.

Babu Rajcoomar Surbadhikary, Professor, Canning College, Lucknow,—proposed by Babu Jogendra Chunder Ghose, seconded by Babu Joggodish Nath Roy.

Rajah Kaliprosonno Gopendra Mohaprotapa, Zemindar, Khurwoye, Midnapore,—proposed by Rajah Harendra Krishna, Bahadoor, seconded by Babu Juggodesh Nath Roy.

Babu Okhil Counder Mookerjee, Zemindar, Kidderpore,—proposed by Rajah Harendra Krishna Bahadoor, seconded by Babu Juggodish Nath Roy.

Rajah Promotha Bhoosan Deb Roya, Zemindar, Naldanga, Jessore,—proposed by Babu Rajendralala Mitra, Rai Bahadur, LL. D., C. I. E., seconded by Maharajah Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore Bahadoor, K. C. S. I.

Babu Rai Rajsunsree Persad Singh, Zemindar, Surajpara, Shahabad,—proposed by Hon'ble Hurbans Sahai, seconded by Babu Saligram Singh.

The names of the under-mentioned gentlemen were next submitted for election:

Babu Gopalchunder Gupta, Landholder and Merchant, Calcutta. Proposed by Kumar Denendernath Roy, seconded by Kumar Debender Mullick.

Moulvie Syed Abdoos Sobhan Chowdry, Zemindar, Bogra proposed by Newab Meer Mahomed Ali, seconded by Babu Joykissen Mookerjea.

Babu Harendralal Roy, Zemindar and Merchant, Dacca. Proposed by Babu Gunesh Chunder Chunder, seconded by Babu Nejoykissen Mookerjea.

Babu Monohur Mookerjea, Zemindar, Otterpara, proposed by Babu Guneshchunder Chunder, seconded by Babu Nejoykissen Mookerjea.

Babu Mohesh chunder Chowdry, Zemindar and Pleader, High Court, proposed by Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore, K.C.S.I., seconded by Babu Saligram Sing.

This brought the ordinary business of the meeting to a close.

BENGAL TENANCY BILL.

The President then read a letter from the Maharajah of Hutwa, thanking the Association for having elected him a Vice-President, and expressing his regret at having been unable to attend the meeting. The letter then went on to say that the time had come when no zemindar, whatever his position might be, ought to leave any stone unturned for the protection of his legitimate rights legally and loyally. As yet very few landowners had become alive to the important questions at issue, and it was their duty to stir them up, in order that everyone of them might be on the alert to guard their interests, since the co-operation of all was highly desirable in so momentous an undertaking.

The President.—It is gratifying to notice that our friends in the Mofussil, at all events in the Behar districts, are alive to the importance of the Tenancy Bill. It is not for me to dwell on the subject. You have appointed a Committee to hold deliberations, and I have no doubt your Committee will do all that is necessary for the purpose. At the same time, our hands would be greatly strengthened, if all who are interested in the question, would at once join us. If there is any gentleman present here who would like to discuss any point in connection with this subject, he is now welcome to do so.

Maharaja Sir Jotindra Mohun Tagore K. C. S. I. then addressed the meeting to the following effect:

Whoever has read the Bengal Tenancy Bill with an unbiassed mind must, I think, have been struck with its singular one-sidedness. It is all for the ryots and nothing for the zemindars. Not even the slightest facility is to be given for the settlement and realisation of current rents, though it will be remembered that it was the prayer of the zemindars to obtain some facility in this direction, which originated the proposal for a new Rent Bill. I think that this Bill, if passed into law, will effect a re-distribution of property on communistic principle, for the ryots are to be raised to the status of co-partners, and the zemindars relegated to the position of only one-fifth shareholders in the estate, though their responsibilities as owners will perhaps remain all the same. The veriest squatter, who chooses to set up four bamboos with a *chuppar* over head is to be entitled to a "compensation for disturbance,"—an idea quite novel in our land system, and evidently imported from the New Irish land law which has justly raised so much dissatisfaction among the land owners of England and Ireland. The idea of giving to the Bengal tenantry the three Fs—namely, fixty of tenure, fair rent, and free sale seems also to have been borrowed from the same law; but the Bengal Bill goes a step further and follows the old adage about Peter and Paul, for, in giving the three Fs to the ryots, it proposes to deprive the zemindars of three Ps—namely, proprietorship, privilege, and prestige. But, then, we are told that the word "Proprietor," in the Regulations relating to the Permanent Settlement, was used in a very different sense from what we understand to be its dictionary meaning. Of course, as foreigners, it is not for us to question the correctness of the modern interpretation, which, moreover, happens to be so much in accord with the radical ideas of the present time; but one thing I must be permitted to say that, during the last ninety years, successive Governments and the Legislature, as well as the Courts of Justice, presided over by eminent lawyers have always attached to the word its generally accepted meaning. Admitting, however for the sake of argument that the modern construction of the Permanent Settlement is the right one, I would ask if it would not be extremely hard and unjust to the zemindars of the present day, who have laid out large sums of money in the purchase of what they had hitherto been led to believe was an entire property in the soil, to be told that they are only one-fifth share-holders in the estate, and that, too, under sundry conditions and limitations. The zemindars have acted *bona fide*, and in good faith and under an honest conviction, in which they have been confirmed, as I have said, by the highest authority; and now to deprive them by a single stroke of the pen, without any compensation of rights, which rightly and wrongly they have been permitted to enjoy for nearly ninety years, the longest period for the accrual of a prescriptive right being only sixty years, would, I submit, be little short of confiscation. And here I would further question—For whose benefit are the zemindars' interests being sacrificed? The actual cultivators hardly gain much under the present Bill, but it is the jotedars and middle-class men who will be most benefited, or, in other words, a class of small landowers is to be raised in the room of the large zemindars. And is this, I ask, a wise policy? I believe it is an accepted doctrine of political economy that the large landholders are the most lenient, and that it is the small landowers who have the greatest temptation to press hard upon their tenantry. If, however, the zemindars are considered an anachronism in the present communistic spirit of the age, with which unfortunately a portion of our educated young countrymen seem to sympathise in imitation of certain European nations, it would be better to purchase the zemindars out by paying them a fair market value for their estates. The ryots, then, would perhaps be happier under the direct khas management of the Government, and the demand of modern radicalism would, in a great measure, be satisfied, and most of the zemindars would be too glad to be relieved of that constant friction with the Government on the one hand and with the ryots on the other. The much-abused landed aristocracy might, without injustice, be thus got rid of to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. But, gentlemen, I will not take up your time any longer. The Viceroy, as you know, has been pleased to appoint the gentleman whom we have nominated as our representative as a member of the Legislative Council; and we cannot sufficiently express our thanks to His Excellency for the consideration we have received at his hands. Knowing the ability and thorough knowledge of the subject which the Hon'ble Kristo Das Pal possesses, we have every confidence that our case will be fully and fairly represented by him to the Government. In the present temper of the times, I confess I feel somewhat diffident of the results; but whatever may be the chances of success, considering that our rights, our social position, nay, our very means of living are at stake, we shall be wanting in our duty, not only to ourselves, but to our children and our children's children, if we do not earnestly protest against this encroachment upon our just rights and interests, and exert by all manner of constitutional means, if not to avert the threatened blow, at least to minimize, as far as possible, the misfortune that awaits us now. (Applause).

Baboo Joy Kiesen Mookerjee said:—The Bengal Tenancy Bill, which has been introduced into the Indian Council, requires our most earnest consideration. The Rent Bill, drafted by the Rent Commission, raised a storm of opposition throughout the country, and, although the main features of the Bill in question differ widely from those of that Bill, no opportunity whatever was given to the public to criticise its provisions before it was submitted to the Secretary of State for his sanction, and before it was introduced in Council. The Pubna ryots, for which the country is indebted to the mistaken zeal of some officers of Government, and a number of memorials from ryots, the presentation of which the avowed disposition of Government in this matter had rendered inevitable, have been adduced as evidence of the necessity of the revolutionary measure with which the country is threatened, but it is a fact which has been repeatedly endorsed in official records, and which was admitted by His Excellency the Viceroy from his place in Council that the condition of the Bengal ryots is one of growing prosperity. At a time when the condition of the ryots was much worse, the united efforts of a band of able and experienced officers of Government intent upon doing what could be done for the amelioration of that condition produced an Act, which eminent lawyers have held to have dealt unjustly with the rights of landholders. Yet the authors of Act X of 1859 were gentlemen who were, not only throughly conversant with the revenue administration of the country, but also intimately acquainted with the conditions, habits, customs, and institutions of the people. Have we among the framers of the present Bill, a single gentleman who can claim a title to such knowledge and experience? A knowledge of the Rent Law of Bengal and of the rights of parties requires years of anxious study and undivided attention; but a very short time, indeed, has enabled the hon'ble law member to consider himself qualified to take upon himself the charge of the Bill during the accidental absence of Sir S. Bayley. The fact that the road-cess papers show an excess of about ten millions over land revenue which are supposed to go to the coffers of the landholders, was enough to move the legislative machinery; but a little care would have shown that, after deducting the costs of collection, and taking into calculation the large number of tenure-holders and under-tenure-holders among whom the profit is divided very little, indeed is left to the share of individual landholders. The framers of the present Bill set before them, however, an easy task. They had simply to ignore the history of the revenue system and of the rent law, to ignore the opinions of men like Sir Barnes Peacock and Sir Richard Garth, to arm themselves with quotations from minutes recorded at a time when the expediency of a permanent settlement of the land was doubtful, and to bring in aid, whenever there was any difficulty, extracts from Justice Cunningham's minute, the timely appearence of which was so very welcome to Government and so very mysterious to the public. And what is the result? No Bengal Rent Bill could have been drafted in such gross ignorance of the history, condition, and circumstances of the people in such wanton violation of vested rights, and in such utter want of foresight of the practical results of its operation as the Bill in question. While the great curse of the ryot continues to be the large amount of process and other fees which, by swelling has liability in simple rent suits in many cases, to four or five times the amount of arrears of rent, increase the revenues of Government. The practical effect of the Bill will be to increase litigation to an alarming extent, and to place ryots at the mercy of petty-fogging touters and mookhtears. I shall not dwell at present on the details of the Bill. Its provisions aim at a thorough re-distribution of property in land. But if I have read the feeling of my brother landholders aright, Government may adopt a much easier and a much less objectionable course to carry out their wishes. The landholders in a body will be only too glad to part with their properties to Government, and to take in return Government Loan Securities guaranteeing them their present profits. If no such arrangement is come to, I would exhort my countrymen, of every class and profession, to combine constitutionally against the present attempt to deprive the nation of a national property. In that view, I think that the opinion of all landholders on the provisions of the Bill, and on the measures that should be taken to protect their rights should be invited. (Applause.)

Rajah SHAMASUNKER ROY said:—Maharajahs, Rajahs, Nawabs, Gentlemen,—As my hon'ble friend, Roy Kristodas Pal Bahadur, very ably dwelt on the subject of the Rent Bill, which he so pretty nearly exhausted in his speech in the Viceregal Council, leaving little room for others, that I once though it would be better for me not to handle it at all; but on second thought, I felt it my duty at least to comply with the request of some of my friends of this Association, who asked me to say something on the subject as a mofussil member of the Association.

It is agreed by one and all that zemindars as a class had been enjoying the sovereign power of the country from time immemorial, who had both judicial and military power, &c., in their hands, and neither Hindoo nor Patan, nor the Mogul Government ever interfered with their natural rights and privileges; in fact, the Government was then composed of a group of feudatory chiefs, such was the primæval condition of a zemindar. During the early part of the British Government they retained their power, and even rendered occasional help to the Government; but the government of Lord Cornwallis thought fit to discontinue the feudatory system of the country, and finding the exchequer of the Empire in a poor state, resolved to bring down the zemindars of Bengal and Behar to a certain level by snatching away the sovereign power from them with the compensation in the shape of a permanent revenue, and with a prospect of future emoluments from the waste and unreclaimed lands then in abundance in the country. Now, on this subject a popular tradition may not be out of place to mention here. It is this:—Lord Cornwallis having come to learn from his Dewan, that Nattore was the most influential zemindar of Bengal, at once repaired to that place, with a view to persuade Maharajah Ram Krishna to drop his sovereign

power before the paramount government, which the Maharajah did not consent to do; on this the Governor-General put him into custody in the temple of goddess *Kali*, till he did actually relinquish the sovereign power. Then at last on an assurance of a perpetual settlement of revenue, which was wantonly broken by the Nawabs, he very reluctantly signed the agreement in one hand, and wiped his tears with the other. Under these circumstances, could it be ever possible that for any such arrangement the consent of the tenantry was necessary? Zemindars gave up their sovereignty, and Government made direct settlement with them; it was thought quite unnecessary to consult the ryots since the zemindars were their recognised sovereigns.

The present class of the zemindars, most of whom are new purchasers, have laid out their capital and energy in purchasing and improving the estates, thinking that they would without molestation and in every tranquility enjoy the right as assigned to them by the permanent settlement. If this threatening Bill be passed into law, their long cherished hopes and prospects will be sadly crushed down.

Now, I see that the Bill will give rise to the following difficulties among others:

1st.—The good feeling which subsists between a landlord and tenant will cease owing to the most tempting opportunities, the provisions of this will afford for the exercise of fraud and collusion, for enmity and quarrel with each other.

2. The Bill affords every advantage to a ryot to make himself happy at the cost of his landlord (although that blessing could not last long with him), but no adequate means is offered to a landlord for the realisation of his rent.

3. Everything requires its time and place: the condition of the landlords and tenants of Eastern and Northern Bengal differs a great deal from those of Behar; while the State of Western Bengal is also inconsistent with all the three, especially more with Behar.

4. In framing laws and making codifications, the prevailing custom of the country ought to be strictly observed, as a grammarian would hardly overlook the ascendancy of a language's idiom; unfortunately the Bill, in its every step, tramples down the time immemorial custom of the country hitherto bowed to by all.

Now, I shall make a few observations on the provisions of the Bill on certain points, *viz.*:—

I. About enhancement of rents. The vague terms such as "fair and equitable rate," &c., are still existing in the Bill, which so long perplexed the head of the lawyers too, and has been a source of troublesome litigation. It is desirable to fix a certain share of the gross produce of the land as rent payable to a superior landlord—the direct means of enhancement.

2. About the transferability of the occupancy tenure, much has been said by the hon'ble member mentioned above in various directions, but I would only hit upon a point that the prevailing custom is different in different places; somewhere zemindars would not at all recognise the transfer and oust the purchasers, and in others it is recognised when high consideration is paid to the zemindar.

3. About the registration of transfer of succession, no provision is made when there is any contention with regard to the rights of the several claimants, how long the zemindar is to wait for a final decision, and who will pay the rental, &c., due to him as long as litigation goes on? No provision is made also with regard to the jote of an absconded tenant. Here, again, how long the landlord should wait to let it to another, or bring it into his own use? The same difficulty will again arise when a tenant dies without any successor.

4. The presumption clause against enhancement of rent was first introduced in 1859; from that day 20 years' grace was allowed. Now the time ought to be increased according as the proportion of the time elapses. Several fresh objectionable provisions have been made in it. The custom was quite different; since without securing a pottah from his landlord, no tenant was exempted from enhancement. The Kadimi ryots, who hold jotes from the Permanent Settlement, were only excluded.

5. The previous contracts have been set aside and to undergo future contracts on some important affairs between landlords and tenants have been denied. These two rulings are equally injudicious and impolitic in the extreme. The existing law of contract is sufficient to guide.

6. Homestead land a so going to acquire the right of occupancy which is again a new encroachment upon the interest of the landlord. It will be very severe upon the landholders, owning lands in the suburbs of Calcutta, cities of Patna, Dacca, Howrah, Hooghly, Moorshedabad, and other towns of districts. Again, if it becomes transferable, the residents of a village composed of purely high Hindoo caste will be grievously shocked in the event of transplantation, in the midst of them a butcher, a Mahomedan, and such like; it is, indeed, very objectionable in a village life aspect of view.

7. When a tenant is ousted by law from his lands, the zemindar or landlord should give him compensation, otherwise the Court will withdraw hands to proceed. This provision is simply to add insult to injury; never a tenant was heard of taking salamee from his terrestrial Lord.

8. The waste lands or lands unreclaimed, and those under water, ought to be comprised within *khamar* lands. The land from which no rents have ever been realised, and for a long time not under cultivation, how can they be called a ryoty land.

9. The penalty under the Bill is one-sided and excessive in the acts of agents to the proprietor; it ought to be reduced, and enforced upon the Naibs and Gomastas themselves for their misdoings.

10. The definition of the word "proprietor" is seriously objectionable, for it is contrary to the prevailing customary definition of it. Why, is the custom to be over-ruled?

In conclusion, I beg to remark if the Bill is at all intended for the welfare of the country, and to look to the interest of both parties, its clauses ought to be as sound and justified as would render ease to a ryot as well as a zemindar, this can be effected by strictly observing the existing customs of the different parts of the country, and making provisions suitable to each. The law might govern the principle, whilst the by-laws can guide the difference of custom. If this does not seem proper, any right that is reasonably necessary to snatch away from landlord, in order to re-distribute to the tenantry, fair and equitable compensation ought to be provided for. If this even does not satisfy the legislator, once for all let Government take the whole right of the landholders, &c., by giving compensation as it pleases.

Nawab Mir Mahomed Ali:

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—With your permission I desire to offer a few observations in respect of certain salient provisions of the Bengal Rent Bill.

I strongly object to Section 129, Chapter X of the Bill. It provides that "every ryot who is ejected from his holding shall be entitled to compensation for improvements which have been made by him, &c." I must confess that I do not quite understand the principle on which this startling provision is based. Now, it cannot be denied for a moment that the ryot has certain definite liabilities in respect of his holding, to the zemindar. If by reason of his improvidence foolishness or negligence, he fails to discharge those liabilities, and thereby very rightly forfeits his holding, I should like to be enlightened by what principle or dictate of reason, justice, or equity should the innocent zemindar be forced to pay him compensation.

The Bill also provides that any occupancy ryot can sell his occupancy right to another, only that in this case the landlord will have the right of pre-emption. I cannot see much use of this provision to the ordinary class of zemindars who are not very rich. For a neighbouring rich and powerful zemindar will then be very easily able to collude with the tenants of another weaker Zemindar, and instigate them to come forward simultaneously to sell their occupancy tenures. Now, I would ask how the right of pre-emption, in such a case, can afford any relief to the weaker Zemindar. Having not sufficient money at his command, he won't be able to excerise his right of pre-emption, when his ryots want to sell their tenures simultaneously and *en masse*, and the natural result would be that all his lands would pass into the hands of the neighbouring rich and unfriendly zemindar, who, to harass his weaker neighbour would stop payment of rent. And then, as a matter of course, the weaker zemindar would have to part altogether with his lands, by selling his proprietary interest to the neighbouring rich zemindar.

If the Bill in its present shape be passed into law, without material alterations being made in accordance with a thorough knowledge of the Mofussil, I decidedly hold that it will have a disastrous effect on both the Zemindars and ryots. The patriarchal relations which have hitherto subsisted between them to some extent, will be completely extinguished; their friendly and amicable transactions will cease, the peace and harmony of the country will be at an end, and the whole country will be involved in ceaseless and ruinous litigation. There are many sections of the Bill which need criticism: but at this late hour of the day, I shall not any longer take up the time of the meeting, as I think there are several others anxious to speak.

Babu Saligram Sing said:

Gentlemen,—As I am the only member of Behar present here on this occasion I shall be failing in my duty which I owe to that province if I allow this opportunity to go without expressing my feeling of disapprobation against the Rent Bill; now it will not be appropriate to go into detail and comment on the numerous unnecessarily unjust provisions of the Bill for that will be done in the Central Committee of which I have the honor to be a member, so I content myself by endorsing the views expressed by the several speakers, who have preceded me. But I would beg to say a word with reference to a point which has not been touched by any of the preceding speakers viz., that the Bill lays down an uniform proportion with respect to the rates of rent in all the districts which is highly objectionable, for the framers of the Bill ought to have borne in mind that the facilities for cultivation are not the same with respect to all the lands in all the districts. In some place, a ryot by bestowing only a little of labour raises a very good harvest, whilst on the other hand, in other places, he even after working very hard succeeds only in a very poor harvest.

Before I conclude I beg to observe that there are some very strange provisions in the Bill alleged to be intended to prevent rackrenting. These provisions will be of universal application, but when the supporters of the Bill are told that this evil does not exist and hence there is no necessity for prescribing a remedy for a disease which has no existence, they turn round and say that no doubt it does not exist in Bengal (because they fear they will be contradicted by the advanced zemindars of this part of the province), but that it does exist in Behar. Gentlemen this sweeping allegation that rack renting prevails throughout Behar or is very common in Behar is incorrect and proceeds from ignorance of the true state of things on the part of those who have chosen to say so and I hope the zemindars of Behar will put the Central Committee here in possession of facts which will enable it to contradict effectually the imputation of rack-renting which has been attributed to Behar zemindars.

Babu Rajnarain Dutt said:—Mr. President and Gentlemen,—The Bengal Rent Bill, the draft of which is now before the public, does not afford any guarantee to the landlords that their rights and interests will be duly-looked after. It signally fails to preserve an equilibrium of rights of the parties chiefly interested in land, I mean the zemindars and tenants. While the Bill makes no provision for the speedy realization of the rents due to the zemindars, it arm the ryots with power to maintain their recusancy in ignoring the rights and claims of the landlord. The Bill creates new rights and interests for the ryots which they never enjoyed before and to which they can fairly lay no claim. It proposes to confer upon them the right of the transfer of occupancy tenure, subject to a right of pre-emption to the landlord. This is a sort of inducement held out to the zemindars from which they can hope to derive no benefit whatever. The occupancy right is not a right to which all ryots have an inherent claim, and it is not therefore fair or just that the landlords should be asked to pay for a thing to which they have an absolute and indefeasible claim. I can hardly hope that our cries will be heard in Council but I would urge the Committee of the British Indian Association to move the Legislature to omit so much of the Bill as regards the absolute transfer of the occupancy right.

I regret, gentlemen, that my health will not allow me to speak any longer. I therefore conclude with my best thanks to the chair and the gentlemen here present.

LOCAL BOARDS BILL.

Baboo Peary Mohun Mookerjee said:—I wish to observe that the scheme of local self-government as embodied in the Bill now before the Bengal Council, admirable as it is, falls far short of the expectations which were raised by the Resolutions of the Government of India. People were led to hope that a great administrative reform would be inaugurated by investing local boards with large powers in the management of their affairs, and in the expenditure of the various funds which are devoted to local improvements; but it appears to me that the local boards which the Bill proposes to create would enjoy much less power than what is enjoyed at present by District Committees. The partial introduction of the elective system in the constitution of local boards would be, of course, a great gain to the country; but I think it very doubtful whether it would outweigh the loss that would ensue by giving reduced powers to the local boards. The most important part of the work which is now done by District Committees would be done nominally by the central board, but actually by the District Collectors. So that they will exercise much greater powers than at present in the affairs of their districts. For some purposes, no doubt, the conference of delegates and the joint Committees which the Bill provides for, would do the work as district boards, but they will cause waste of time and waste of power, the very evils which Mr. Macaulay is so very anxious to avoid. These and other defects of the Bill should be pointed out to Government, and I hope, the managing Committee will give them their best consideration.

The President said he could easily perceive that his friend, Babu Peary Mohun Mukerjee, was labouring under great difficulty in commenting upon the Local Self-Government Bill. It was not easy to comment upon it. In other parts of the world where laws are made by established legislatures it is the custom to produce well-considered, fully-developed, carefully-worded Bills which give exactly what is proposed, and is fully understood by those whom they affect; but in Bengal they followed a different rule. The gentlemen present had heard how bears brought forth their immature *buchas*, and then licked them for some weeks or months until they got into shape. The kangaroo also carried its undeveloped shapeless young ones in its pouch until they attained their normal form. This was what the Bengal Legislature did. It brought forth amorphous Bills and then licked them, or nurtured them in the pouch of the Select Committee, until they assumed quite a different shape from what they were when first brought forth; and it was impossible to criticise fully such amorphous births. A remarkable illustration of this was afforded the other day. When the Hill Coolies Bill came out, it included all stations which the Lieutenant-Governor might at any moment feel disposed to call Hill Municipalities, and it included every section of the community which the Lieutenant-Governor might feel disposed to call coolies. In that shape it was impossible to determine precisely whom or what place it affected, and in that shape it passed the first reading. But in the womb of the kangaroo it was metamorphosed into quite another form which bore no relation to the chrysalis in which it was first seen; reduced, in bulk no doubt, but fully developed, a tiny little mouse and quite as mischievous. The Bill, he supposed, had originated through some gentleman wanting to go out one evening for an airing in his hammock, and suddenly finding all his dandywallahs drunk. And the fiat has gone forth that every Lapsha woman who twice got drunk and put a gentleman in to inconvenience should ever after lose the privilege of plying her trade and earning her livelihood. She may die of starvation, but she must not again be permitted to carry a dandy on her shoulders, *i. e* for causing inconvenience the punishment was little short of outlawry. The Bill, however, had passed the first reading and no one was allowed an opportunity by the republication of the Bill to protest against it. And such being the case generally it is impossible to know at first sight what the principle of this Local Self-Government Bill was, and comment on it, for six months hence they might get from the Select Committee a Bill which may bear no resemblance to the present one. What he understood to be the principle enunciated by the Viceroy was that the principle of decentralization should be carried out, and that each locality should have the right of managing its own affairs in the best way it could. This, it was said, was the natural outcome of the principle laid down by the late Lord Mayo. Lord Mayo cut the leading strings by which Local Governments were bound to the Central Government, and allowed them considerable liberty of action in the management of their finances, and Lord Ripon wanted to do the same in regard to local bodies for local affairs. The speaker, therefore, always understood that they were to have something like a decentralisation of the Bengal revenue; but what had they in the Bill? It was centralisation with the utmost vengeance. (Applause.) If there was any meaning in the word "self" it had no place from the Alpha to the Omega of this Bill. Nay, there was the word, but it meant not self-government or Government according to one's own lights, but self-abnegation. (Laughter and cheers.) At present the people had several Committees in the districts which managed their own affairs. There was the Road Cess Committee, which did its business under the Presiding Magistrate with no one over head; there was the District Education Committee which did whatever it thought proper within its own jurisdiction; then there was the Ferry Fund Committee, which had, however, been abolished, and the funds made over to the Road Cess Committee, and there was also the District Dispensary Committee. The last two had no masters over them. Thus there were at present four District Committees each independent within its own sphere. But it was proposed now that these four Committees should be amalgamated into one, and that if should be tied hand and foot, and placed under a Central Board. And this, by some wonderful euphemism of language, was called "self-government." The Central Board was to be supreme in every respect, it was to be both the ruler and the legislator, and without its fiat none should move a hair's breadth. This Board was to be in Bengal what Fouche was under the first Napoleon, and like Fouche it was to govern every hamlet through prefects as utterly servile as possible. True, the prefects are to be unpaid and partly elected, but with their hands and feet bound in steel manacles it mattered little how they are to be appointed. He was anxious not to dwell too much on this subject, because all Bengal had joined in thanking the Government for this Bill. They were welcome to it. For his part, the President said, the power given to the Central Board appeared so overwhelming that the District Committees would have no power whatsoever. And as long as the Central Board remained, self-government would be a farce. And as if that was not enough, the Bill took every precaution to exclude all possibility of competent men getting into the Local Boards. One important point in connection with this Bill was the strong expression of opinion on the part of the Government against district boards. If they had district boards, those who were now on Education, Road Cess, Dispensary and other Committees, would come forward and make very good members. But they were not to be allowed; they were too talkative and talking. The Government said these Committees had failed, and it was going to have better Committees and it is going to indent for better committee men, not from urban or semi-urban people, who know the world, who know business, who are daily engaged in important commercial transactions, who have daily to talk to men of all classes, and hold their own against all and sundry, but from villagers who have experience in nothing but in twisting bullocks' tails, who get completely be-fuddled in the presence of a stranger. A more mistaken notion of improvement could hardly be conceived. It would be far from him to say that this had been done with any deliberate intention; he was most positively certain that such was not the case. The intentions of Government were perfectly liberal and thoroughly honest; but he was compelled to say it was (very badly advised. As the Bill stood it was a most unsatisfactory one. Certain it was if a body of wicked men had come together to realise a plan which would upset the scheme of local self-government altogether, they could not have devised a better one than

what the Bill contained. It was a rule never to look a gift horse in the mouth, and as the Government had been good enough to present the people a horse, they should accept it thankfully, and never open its mouth, nor enquire whether it was blind or lame, or broken-winded; but a line must be drawn somewhere, and it is well that it should run on the side of glanders. One may accept an old horse, but none will take home a glandered one, for he then brings home not only a useless animal, but one that will destroy the sound ones he has in his stables. And the Bill was a glandered one, and hence the objection to it. It gives the people nothing but an empty show of election, and it takes away the liberty of four good Committees in every district. The speaker would not have enquired into the nature of this Bill if it had not so much concerned his countrymen. But he was sure the Bill as it stood would be a failure, and that failure would reflect very strongly upon his countrymen. Their enemies would say that they were not fit for self-government, and that therefore they had failed. If the Government really wished to take the people by the hand, it should begin by training those who were slightly advanced, and not work with those who were quite untrained. Those who are able are to go out, and those who are incapable were to be brought forward. The impracticable nature of the Bill is best illustrated by the clause which requires proceedings and records of village Committees to be kept in English, it was quite impossible to find men who knew sufficient English in every way to discuss matters in English and keep records in that language in every village or sub-division, and if the condition be enforced 9 out of every 10 village will have to be defranchised. Take, for instance. Bushirhaut, a good Sub-Division with lots of *Bhadraloks* well versed in Bengali, but if you want English records from them, you may as well ask the tigers in the neighbourhood to do the needful (laughter) Nor was the object of the condition very apparent. The whole of the criminal and civil judicial proceedings of the country was transacted in the vernacular, and there was nothing to show that local affairs had any thing peculiar which rendered English imperative. Moreover, the Committees had some fifty new duties given them, but there was nothing to show that they would have any additional funds. Of course the Government may give them funds and give them power, and probably it will, but on the face of the Bill this was not apparent, and in criticising the Bill one cannot travel beyond its four corners, and there one finds nothing. As far as any real power was concerned, the whole thing was purely permissive. The law said the Lieutenant-Governor might do this, or that, or another thing, but legally no power was given to the people. Under the best of circumstances the Local Boards can have very little actual power. The Bill parades the name of Roads, Education, Dispensaries and what not, but who will be the real authorities in such matters? The roads will rest with the Collector and the Public Works Department, and no Board will be able to control them. Will any public board be able to say nay to an order from the Educational Department? or if the Surgeon-General said you must pay so much for a hospital, would it be able to refuse it? In short, what little power had existed with the local Committees was being taken away by this Bill, and he hoped the Committee of the Association, in making a representation on the subject, would remember what the Bill really was. (Applause).

* * *

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

MOFUSSIL SUBSCRIPTIONS.	Rs.	As.	P.
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Advertisements.

Wanted a Clerk for the temporary establishment in the office of Examiner of Ordnance Accounts, 1 Esplanade West. Pay Rs. 70, rising to Rs. 100. None but those who are now serving or have served in a Government office need apply. A thorough knowledge of accounts necessary. Apply by letter only to above address forwarding copies of the testimonials.

Wanted an F. A. pass or fail student as a tutor to my boys at Rs. 16 a month rising to Rs. 24 by an annual increment of Rs. 4 with free board and lodging.

R. L. MOOKERJEE.

Peerpahar Monghyr, 13th April, 1883.

Notice.

Wanted a Sub-Overseer for the Dacca District Road Cess Works on a salary of Rs. 60 per mensem including travelling allowance. None need apply who has not passed the D. P. W. Sub-Overseer's examination and has no practical experience.

Applications with copies of testimonials to the address of the District Engineer Dacca will be received up to the 30th April 1883.

UMES CHANDRA SEN,
Overseer in-charge of Dist. Engr's. Office, Dacca.
Dacca, 11th April 1883.

Wanted a number of Masonry Inspectors, also a number of native Subordinates. Salary according to character and qualifications. Apply to Deputy Chief Engineer, Bengal and North Western Railway Company, Limited, Dinapur, Bengal.

CALCUTTA AND SOUTH EASTERN STATE RAILWAY.

The further extension of the Calcutta and South Eastern State Railway to Diamond Harbour will subject to the sanction of the Government of India be open to Coaching and Goods Traffic on and from the 1st May 1883. For particulars see Time and Rate Table.

R. G. MOOKERJEE,
Manager.

Calcutta, the 11th April 1883.

NOTICE TO PRINTERS.

Baboo Nabin Chandra Sen wants to place all his poetical works in the hands of a respectable printer and publisher on suitable terms. Applications should be addressed to him as Sub-Divisional officer, Behar, via Buktearpore, E. I. Railway.

সোখিলাল এণ্ড কোং জ্বর নাশক সুধা।

ইহা প্লীহা যকৃৎ কম্প ঐকাহিক দ্ব্যাহিক ত্র্যাহিক চাতুর্থিক ইত্যাদি সর্ব্ব প্রকার জ্বরের অব্যর্থ মহৌষধ।

কলিকাতা বড় বাজার দয়েহাটা ৭ নং বাটীতে প্রাপ্য। মূল্য শোল ঔন্স বড় শিশি ১।০, আট ঔন্স ছোট শিশি ৸০ আনা।

আমরা এই ঔষধ বিক্রয় করিবার জন্য স্থানে স্থানে এজেণ্ট নিযুক্ত করিব, যাঁহারা এজেণ্ট হইতে ইচ্ছা করেন তাঁহারা উপরোক্ত ঠিকানায় আমাদের নিকট আসিলে বা পত্র লিখিলে সমস্ত বিবরণ জানিতে পারিবেন।

WANTED.

A private tutor to teach in all the subjects including Sanscrit, two boys of the undersigned, one reading in the Entrance and the other in the preparatory class. Pay Rs. 30 per month, board and lodging free. A graduate will be preferred. Candidates, respectable persons of good moral character required.

SOSHEE BHOOSUN MOOKERJEE,
Bhagulpoor, 3rd Ayril 1883.

Wanted a Draughtsman salary Rs. 60 per month, apply to Executive Engineer 2nd Division, Dacca and Mymensing State Railway, Mymensing.

HIGH COURT.
RECEIVER'S OFFICE.
Estate Kristomohun Mitter.
Umbica Churn Mitter
vs.
Khetternauth Mitter and others.
NOTICE.

The sale by public auction of the lease of the properties appertaining to the above estate advertised for this day Friday the 6th day of April 1883 has been postponed until Friday the 27th April instant at 1 P.M.

WATKINS & WATKINS,
Attorneys for the Receiver.

Wanted for the Agra College, an M. A. as a Professor of Mathematics, salary Rs. 250 a month, applicants who do not hear from undersigned within 10 days may conclude that their services will not be required. Apply to the Officiating Principal, Agra College.

NOTICE.

The *Second Edition* of *The Indian Student's Guide*, by Bholanath Paul, Head-Master, Hare School, consisting of about 650 pages, will be ready by the 1st of May next. Price inclusive of postage, Rs. 4-6. Those however, who should like to pay in advance will be charged at the following rates :—

Town residents ...	Rs.	3 10
Mofussil residents...	...	4 0 post free.

ঘনরাম প্রণীত শ্রীধর্ম্ম মঙ্গল।

ঘনরাম প্রণীত শ্রীধর্ম্ম মঙ্গল প্রথম ও দ্বিতীয় খণ্ড প্রকাশিত হইয়াছে। এই রকম বার খণ্ড প্রকাশিত হইলে গ্রন্থ শেষ হইবে, টীকা আছে, সুন্দর সুন্দর ছবি আছে, কাগজ ভাল, ছাপা ভাল। প্রায় ১০০০ পৃষ্ঠায় শেষ হইবে।

শ্রীধর্ম্ম মঙ্গল বঙ্গভাষায় এক অপূর্ব্ব মহাকাব্য, উজ্জ্বলতম রত্ন। প্রায় দুই শত বৎসর পূর্ব্বের এ গ্রন্থ এত দিন কীটদষ্ট পুঁথি আকারে মেঘাচ্ছাদিত সূর্য্যের ন্যায় অগৌরবে বিরাজ করিতেছিল, গৌড়ের রাজা ইহার মূল সূত্র, ময়নাধিপতি লাউসেন ইহার নায়ক, ইহাতে বীররস আছে, করুণ রস আছে, প্রণয় রস আছে, কবিতা সকল সতেজ ও সহজ। ইহা পাঠ করিলে পাঠকগণ বুঝিতে পারিবেন, ইহা বাল্মীকি, মিল্টন, হোমর, বার্জ্জিলের সমতুল।

এই কয়েক মাস মধ্যে ঘনরামের আশাতিরিক্ত গ্রাহক হইয়াছে। আমরা কখন ভাবি নাই, জনসাধারণ এরূপ আগ্রহসহকারে এ গ্রন্থ পাঠ করিবেন, বাঙ্গালা দেশে প্রাচীন কাব্যগ্রন্থের দুই মাস মধ্যে দুই হাজার গ্রাহক হওয়া সামান্য কথা নহে, এত অধিক গ্রাহক হইয়াছেন বলিয়াই মূল্য আর ৪৲ চারি টাকা করিতে হইল না। এক্ষণে সমুদয় গ্রন্থের মূল্য ২৷৷০ আড়াই টাকা স্থির হইয়াছে, অগ্রিম মূল্য ভিন্ন কাহাকেও ঘনরাম দেওয়া যায় না। নমুনা দেখিতে চাহিলে এক খণ্ডের মূল্য ।০ চারি আনা পাঠাইলেই হইবে, গ্রাহকগণ আমার নামে মণি-অর্ডর দ্বারা টাকা পাঠাইবেন।

কলিকাতা, (কলেজ ষ্ট্রীট) ৪১ নং চাঁপাতলা ফার্ষ্ট লেন। — শ্রীযোগেন্দ্রচন্দ্র বসু ঘনরাম প্রকাশক।

সচিত্র।

প্রবাহিণী।

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এককালীন অগ্রিম মূল্য ৩৵০।

ডাক মাসুল বার আনা।

খরচা প্রতি খণ্ড এক আনা। অর্থাৎ ফর্ম্মা ১০ ও পূর্ণ তরঙ্গ (Series) ৬।০ মাত্র। কিন্তু নির্দ্দিষ্ট গ্রাহক হইলে, ফর্ম্মা ৷৫ ; খণ্ড ১০ ও তরঙ্গ ৩৵০ পড়িবে। এরূপ সুলভ মূল্যে কোন বাঙ্গালা পুস্তক এ পর্য্যন্ত বাহির হয় নাই। রয়াল আট পেজী ফর্ম্মার ১৬০০ পৃষ্ঠায়—২০০ ফর্ম্মায়—বা শতাধিক চিত্র সম্বলিত ১০০ খণ্ডে সমাপ্ত। প্রতি তরঙ্গ বা পূর্ণ আখ্যায়িকা বৎসর মধ্যে শেষ হইবে। অন্ততঃ ২৷৵০ পাঠাইলে, নির্দ্দিষ্ট গ্রাহক হইতে পারিবেন। বৈশাখ হইতে তরঙ্গের মূল্য চারি টাকা হইবে।

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Liniment.—An infallible oil for all diseases of the skin venereal and otherwise.

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THE ONLY UNFAILING AND RELIABLE

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INDRADYNE arrests cholera at any stage of its progress, and prevents the dreadful *sequelæ* peculiar to this fatal disease: it has already saved hundreds of valuable lives, and in not a single instance has it been known to fail.

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15	×	10	×	8½	Rs. 47
18	×	12	×	11	„ 55
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28	×	20	×	18	„ 85
30	×	21	×	20	„ 90
32	×	22	×	21	„ 105
34	×	23	×	23	„ 115
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15,	18,	20,	22,	24,	26,	28,	30,	32,	34,	36 inch
Rs.	15			19			23		26	each.

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10 per cent. Discount for Cash.

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Renowned Physicians prescribe Grimault's Matico as the most active and at the same time the most inoffensive remedy in the treatment of Acute and Chronic Diseases. It has not like Copaiba, the inconvenience of giving Nausea. The injection is used in recent, and the Capsules in the more chronic cases.

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Tonic, Reconstituent and Digestive of prime order, particularly suitable to Feeble Subjects, Convalescents, Old People and Rickety Children, who find in them the Calcareous Elements entering into the Constitution of the Bones. Well adapted to Ladies in the Family-way and Wet Nurses (whose milk it enriches.)

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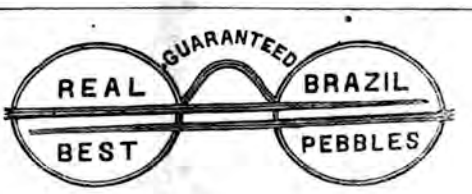

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